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## AN ESSAY ON THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY MADOC AP OWEN GWYNEDD IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

BY

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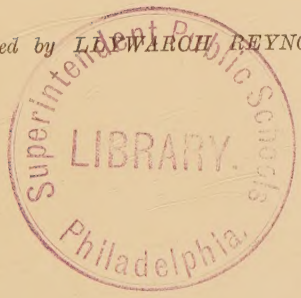


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# EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE QUESTION discussed in the following pages has persistently engaged the attention of the Welsh people from time to time during the last three hundred years, and it might well be supposed that the last word had long since been spoken upon this subject. But that this is not so, and that the topic is possessed of a perennial charm for the Cymric race, is shown by the continually recurring discussions thereof, in the native press and elsewhere, even in our own day; and the alleged discovery of America by Prince Madoc ab Owain Gwynedd in the twelfth century is still, by a certain class of minds, accepted as an article of faith, and its truth as implicitly believed as when first enunciated by Humphrey Llwyd in the sixteenth century. The tercentenary celebrations in the past year in honour of Columbus, and the forthcoming Eisteddfod to be held at Chicago in the present summer, have combined to revive the interest felt in the Madoc story, which has induced the representatives of the late Mr. Thomas Stephens to yield to the oft-repeated solicitations of many of his fellow-countrymen, and to give the following work to the world.

This essay was written for competition at the celebrated Llangollen Eisteddfod, held on September 21, 1858, and three

following days. The subject for competition was announced in these terms: 'For the best essay upon the discovery of America in the twelfth century by Prince Madoc ab Owain Gwynedd, prize 20*l.* and a silver star'; and the following well-known Welsh *literati* were appointed to adjudicate upon this contest: the Rev. Thomas James ('Llallawg') and 'Myvyr Morganwg,' both since deceased; and the veteran Welsh lexicographer, the Rev. D. Silvan Evans, B.D., who still happily survives to serve the cause of Welsh literature.

Six essays were sent in for competition, five of which took the affirmative view, and assumed the truth of the Welsh tradition. Of these the only one which need be mentioned here was that bearing the *nom-de-guerre* of 'Wild Man of the Woods.' In the remaining essay, under the assumed name of 'Gwrnerth Ergydlym,' the writer, Mr. Thomas Stephens, the lamented author of 'The Literature of the Kymry,' after presenting an almost exhaustive summary of the literature of the subject, and marshalling all the evidence usually cited for and against the Cambrian story, subjected them to a rigid criticism, and finally adopted the negative view, and declared himself a disbeliever in the tale

> 'How Madoc from the shores of Britain spread
> The adventurous sail.'

That essay is now for the first time submitted to the public in the following pages.

The action of the Eisteddfod committee in reference to this competition created great commotion at the time, and roused the indignation of all fair-minded Welshmen; and it may not, therefore, be considered out of place to give a short summary of the facts, taken from the journals of that day, and

from authentic documents still extant; and to stigmatise as it deserves conduct calculated to tarnish the fair fame of our national institution, the Eisteddfod, and rivalling in turpitude the disgraceful treatment accorded to 'Dewi Wyn o Eifion' and his 'Awdl Elusengarwch' in a previous generation.

Having become aware of the existence of the negative essay, the committee decided that the essay in question, being an essay not on the discovery but on the *non-discovery* of America by Madoc, was not upon the given subject, and must therefore be excluded from the competition. This unwarrantable interference with, and usurpation of the functions of, the judges was warmly resented by those gentlemen; and 'Llallawg' promptly resigned his office and declined to adjudicate. Mr. Silvan Evans forwarded to the secretaries, the day before the Eisteddfod, his award, which was in the following terms:

*To the Secretaries of the Llangollen Eisteddfod.*

Gentlemen,—I have read the essays on 'the Discovery of America by Madoc ab Owain Gwynedd in the twelfth century' with as much care and attention as the circumstances would permit; and the impression which the perusal of them has left on my mind is—that the existence of the so-called Welsh Indians has not yet been fully established—that Madoc's alleged discovery of the American continent rests upon bare conjecture, and that it is still an open question whether he ever left his native shores. If these essays may be considered as exhausting the subject to which they refer, I can draw no other inference from their contents than that these points cannot, with our present stock of knowledge, be proved to the satisfaction of any unbiassed mind. All the competitors, with one exception, adopt the affirmative side of the question, and defend it with greater or less ability; but 'Gwrnerth Ergydlym,' *by far the ablest writer*, takes the opposite side. He

examines the subject fully and candidly, and displays throughout a deep acquaintance with it, and no small amount of critical sagacity; and I cannot but regret that the promoters of the Eisteddfod should have deemed it their duty to exclude his masterly essay from competition simply because the author arrives at a different conclusion from that of the others.

As all the essays which assume the truth of Madoc's discovery, whether we take them singly or collectively, appear to me to fall far short of establishing the points which their respective writers have undertaken to prove, and as no other view of the subject is to be entertained, I hope I may be excused from pronouncing any opinion as to the comparative merits of these productions.

I remain, Gentlemen,
Your faithful servant,
(*Signed*) D. Silvan Evans.

Llangian, Pwllheli:
Sept. 20, 1858.

This communication was carefully suppressed, and no mention was made of it at the Eisteddfod. The Rev. Mr. Silvan Evans was, in consequence of severe domestic affliction, unable to be present at the Eisteddfod; and the other adjudicator, 'Myvyr Morganwg,' who was present, and who had written an adjudication, was not called upon to read it. When this part of the programme was reached, the Rev. R. W. Morgan, one of the conductors of the Eisteddfod, instead of stating the facts as they were, announced that 'of the essays sent in, *one was not on the subject*; and of the others the judges could not decide which was the best; consequently, there would be no award.' The following account of the scene which ensued is reproduced from a contemporary newspaper report of the proceedings:

Mr. T. Stephens then stepped on the platform and claimed permission to say a few words in reference to the announcement made by Mr. Morgan ; but the chairman and 'Carn Ingli' begged he would refrain from doing so, and Mr. Morgan ordered the band to play up in order to drown the voice of the speaker ; but the audience claimed a hearing for him, urged by Mr. Francis of Manchester, who said it would be a burning shame to refuse a hearing to a man of Mr. Stephens's literary reputation. The chairman yielded, and Mr. Stephens then came forward. He had risen, he said, to protest against the terms of Mr. Morgan's announcement. He had said that one essay was not on the subject. This was not correct. The essay was strictly to the point, and he would not hesitate to announce that the essay pointed at was that of 'Gwrnerth Ergydlym,' of which he was the author. The real objection was that the conclusion arrived at was at variance with the preconceptions of the committee ; and if they had manfully announced the fact, he would have made no remonstrance ; but they had now thrown dust in the eyes of the assembly, and committed an unfairness to him (hear, hear) . . . He had, of course, seen that the committee held the affirmative view ; but he had before denied, and continued to deny, that an Eisteddfod was to be an arena for special pleading, but rather for the promulgation of the truth ; and he protested that no committee had any right to look upon their prizes as fees for the advocacy of one-sided views of disputed questions (hear, hear). The Madoc business had been under discussion for fifty years ; and it was therefore not to be wondered at if the competitors took different sides. For his own part he treated it as an open question ; and as the committee gave great prominence to the motto '*Y gwir yn erbyn y byd*,' he was led to conclude that there was to be full liberty of discussion, and that their object was to arrive at the truth (hear, hear). In that spirit he had written. . . . He said he was supported in his views by several of the ablest historical critics in Wales ; by the late Mr. Humffreys Parry, the Rev. Thomas Price ('Carnhuanawc'), and the Rev. Walter Davies ('Gwallter Mechain'). His ambition, he said, was to be the inter-

preter of the claims of the language and literature of the Principality to neighbouring and continental nations; he had hitherto done so to the best of his ability, and had the satisfaction to find that he was considered to be an honest exponent of well-founded claims; and he would still continue to urge strongly and persistently every merit honestly pertaining to the history and national character of the Kymry (hear, hear); but he thought it lowered them as a people to be arguing claims which they could not prove, and that they were only clouding their own reputation in attempting to deprive Christopher Columbus of the fame to which he was justly entitled (hear, hear). He, for one, would be content with simple truthfulness; he would never be a jackdaw decked out with borrowed feathers, but would be content with his own plumage, brilliant or plain as that might be (hear, hear). He then concluded by entering his protest against the announcement made by Mr. Morgan as being that of the committee and not of the judges, as being in itself untrue, and as being at variance with what he knew from private information to be the opinion of the adjudicators (applause).

'Carn Ingli' (the Rev. J. Hughes, one of the secretaries of the Eisteddfod—the other being the Rev. John Williams, 'Ab Ithel') then replied that Mr. Stephens was under a misapprehension. The announcement was not intended to be final; and he gave a pledge to have the decision reconsidered.

Mr. Stephens said there was no reservation in the first announcement; but since they had promised to reconsider the subject, he would, pending that decision, withdraw his protest.

The action of the committee in this matter was loudly and almost universally condemned, as appears from the heated correspondence which followed in the Welsh and other newspapers of the day, notably the 'Herald Cymraeg'—'Ab Ithel,' who took upon himself their defence, relying upon the quibble that in their prospectus the committee had 'claimed

to themselves the right of deciding on all subjects of controversy that might arise, and that their decision in such cases should be considered final,' and stating that the adjudicators had not made any award. He professed to treat the letter of Mr. Silvan Evans as being an informal document, and not amounting to an adjudication; but no such objection was made to that gentleman's equally 'informal' adjudication in the case of the essay on *Barddas* (Bardism) and the collection of Welsh Proverbs, the successful competitors on those subjects being respectively 'Ab Ithel' and his daughter.

It is right to mention that 'Carn Ingli' disapproved of his colleagues' action, and admitted (to use his own words) 'that the duty of the committee was merely ministerial, and not judicial; and that it was his *desire* that an award be made.' Mr. Silvan Evans subsequently wrote a formal adjudication, which was published in the 'Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald,' and is reproduced in the Appendix to this work (p. 236). The full text of 'Myvyr Morganwg's' adjudication has never seen the light; but extracts from it appeared in some of the Welsh newspapers in the course of the controversy. The pith of it, in the Archdruid's autograph, in the Welsh language, is still extant. In it he states that a tradition always existed among the Cymric race that Madoc ab Owain went to some strange land beyond the Western seas; and what land, he asks, could that be if not America? He then, in a strain of maudlin sentimentality, deprecates the surrender of what he calls 'one of the chief jewels hanging upon the breast of our mother-race;' goes on to argue that the essay of 'Ergydlym' is '*not upon the subject*;' and adds: 'But if'

"Ergydlym" be admitted into competition, *which will be the course most commendable in the committee*, and satisfactory to the public, . . . what appears to me the wisest course in this complicated matter is to divide the prize between the best of the affirmative essayists and the negative essayist ("Gwrnerth Ergydlym")'; and with respect to the latter he adds: 'The testimonies and proofs that are brought forward by the affirmative essayists upon the whole appear, before examination, to be strong and clear—too much so, I should think, to expect it to be admitted that they are overturned by "Gwrnerth Ergydlym"; although it must be admitted that he has completely overturned several things that were usually brought forward to prove the departure of Prince Madoc to the Western world. "Gwrnerth" has opposed this opinion energetically, and has composed his essay showing that Madoc did not discover America, that he never went there, but that he died in his own country. And, in truth, his essay is a masterly work, and has proved its author to be, in conformity with his name, "Gwrnerth Ergydlym" ("Gwrnerth Keenstroke"), and that he is a powerful and systematic writer, a critical reviewer of the keenest character, and a master of his subject, on the side he has adopted.'

'Myvyr' stated, during the Eisteddfod, that the best essay on the affirmative side was that signed 'Wild Man of the Woods,' to whom, upon a false construction of the terms of the competition, he would have awarded half the prize. It subsequently transpired that this essay had been sent in by 'Ab Ithel' himself! The essay was in the handwriting of 'Ab Ithel'; and, when challenged in the public press as to this point, that gentleman for a time ignored the charge, but

ultimately admitted that he had written the essay, though only as the amanuensis of another person!

The essay so sent in for competition by 'Ab Ithel' was subsequently published in his own organ, the 'Cambrian Journal' for 1859.

The Llangollen committee could not be induced to do what was right in the matter of this competition, and the prize was never awarded. The hope of pecuniary reward was ever the smallest incentive to Mr. Stephens's labours in the fields of Welsh literature, the prizes offered being altogether disproportionate to the toil and care he bestowed upon whatever work he undertook; but, now that the reader has an opportunity of comparing Mr. Stephens's work with that of his ablest rival on the affirmative side, it is hoped that Stephens's reputation will not suffer from the comparison, but that his work will now receive from the reading public the meed of praise awarded to it by the adjudicators thirty-five years ago.

The duties of the present Editor have been almost entirely confined to verifying references and correcting the press, Mr. Stephens having previously to his lamented death carefully revised the work and prepared it for the press; but for the few notes indicated by square brackets, and for the Index, the Editor alone is responsible.

It only remains to notice a statement which has on several occasions of late years been made in the columns of some of our local journals, to the effect that Mr. Stephens's views upon the Madoc question had undergone a considerable change previous to his death; the suggestion being that he had become a convert to the truth of the Madoc story. In

support of this assertion has been adduced the following statement by the Editor of the second edition of Stephens's 'Literature of the Kymry': 'It was his (Mr. Stephens's) intention to re-write the part relating to the alleged discovery of America by Prince Madoc ab Owain Gwynedd, his opinion after further investigation having undergone a considerable change on that subject.' That Mr. Stephens was always possessed of sufficient courage and honesty to give up an erroneous opinion, and not to hold to any position for a moment longer than he believed it tenable, is well known to all who knew him, and is borne out by his published writings. But the change of opinion referred to in the passage just quoted was a change from the position taken on this subject in the first edition of the 'Literature of the Kymry,' in which the writer said (p. 141): 'I have not paid sufficient attention to the evidence to form any opinion as to the credibility of the popular story as to Madoc's emigration.' Mr. Stephens in the present essay (p. 97) refers to this change of position on his part as having been announced in another essay from his pen published in the Welsh magazine called 'Y Traethodydd.' But that Mr. Stephens had abandoned the maturer views set forth in the following work is at variance with the known facts. The present Editor enjoyed the friendship of Mr. Stephens, and was privileged from his earliest years to look upon him as 'guide, philosopher, and friend,' and had many conversations with him with reference to his views upon controverted points of Welsh history; and such a complete 'change of front' would surely have been disclosed if it had been a fact; and this silence upon the question is attested by members of Mr. Stephens's family, and other persons who

knew him intimately. The allegation is also contradicted by documentary evidences consisting of numerous notes interspersed throughout the manuscript, the result of continued research and reflection, and communications from correspondents, down to a year or two before his death. Mr. Stephens had fully intended bringing out the work himself, and would no doubt have done so but for the fatal illness which so prematurely cut him off, and put an untimely end to his labours in the service of his native land, whose language and literature he loved so well.

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# MADOC.

## INTRODUCTION.

The Kymry are a small remnant of the primitive inhabitants of Britain; they are but few in number, yet they inherit considerable renown; they are now an obscure race, inhabiting a corner of a sea-girt island, but they have rendered the world some services, the memory of which will not willingly be allowed to perish. They have preserved and still speak one of the parent languages of the world, a monument descended from the time of the dispersion of the Aryan races, which still furnishes the means of illustrating many of the social features of those remote times, and is held in deserved veneration by all the great philologists of our day. They gave a hearty reception to the blessed truths of the Gospel; preserved them for many centuries, free from Romish corruptions; and still present to the world the spectacle, almost unique in its character, of a whole people distinguished for the earnestness of their religious worship, for their firm adherence to the Protestant faith, for their ardent advocacy of the cause of civil and religious liberty, and for the total absence of all great crimes among the inhabitants. They were the means of enriching the world with a whole class of literature which is still held in deserved respect; it was from them that the Norman Trouvères received the materials of the

Arthurian and other British romances; and it is primarily to them that the world owes 'The Faëry Queen' of Spenser, and the Lear and Cymbeline of Shakespeare. And, lastly, they present to all oppressed nationalities the gratifying example of a people who, being true to their country, have vindicated for themselves, against many opposing and oppressing powers, and in the midst of many vicissitudes, their distinctive rights and liberties; and still speak, with all the force and fluency of ancient times, that noble language which they have inherited from the mists of ages in the far Past, and which they fervently hope will survive to that great day when the Lord and Master of all Christian men shall come to judge both the quick and the dead.

We have here enumerated but a few of the many services rendered to the world by the Kymry. We might have cited several others; but as some of these are disputed, we confined ourselves to a few brilliant services, which are universally admitted. One of these disputed services will form the subject of the present essay. It is an indisputable fact, that Welshmen have, and ought to have, an honourable place in the annals of the United States of America. It is perfectly well known that Rhode Island, one of those States, was founded by a native of Wales, named Roger Williams; it is known that many Welshmen accompanied William Penn, and helped him to found Pennsylvania; and I have recently shown, in the 'Traethodydd,' [1] that the descendants of Welsh settlers, in the various capacities of signers of the Declaration of Independence, Members of Congress, military officers, lawyers, artists, &c., have played a great and important part in the history of the New Continent. It will be an admirable introduction to these services, a brilliant fact in the history of the world, a lustrous page in the annals of the Kymry, and a bright feather in the national plume, if it can be proved that

[1] *Y Traethodydd* (*The Essayist*) for 1857, pp. 392, 393.

Madoc ap Owen Gwynedd anticipated Christopher Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci, and that the New World was discovered by a Welsh prince in the twelfth century; for the finding of America is the most prominent fact in the history of maritime discovery, and has been fraught with most important consequences to the world at large, from that time to the present. But it is to be borne in mind that the claims of Madoc have been disputed; that several men of high reputation in Wales itself have denied the truth of the story as commonly told; and that, however generally believed among the natives of the Principality, the account is not now received by any historian of repute in England or elsewhere. Many discussions have taken place respecting it; many persons have taken upon them, both affirmatively and negatively, to set the question at rest; and it has been three times proposed as a subject for competition at Eisteddvodau, or Welsh Bardic Meetings; but, somehow or other, all these attempts have proved unsatisfactory. Most of those who have written on the subject have been very strongly prejudiced either for or against; and though there have been several set treatises on the subject, they have displayed great incapacity for dealing with the facts in a judicial and impartial spirit, and have given credence to foolish and exaggerated statements, which have afterwards been proved to have been intentional and flagrant falsehoods. There has been as yet no systematic treatise by any historian of repute, competent to deal with the facts according to the canons of criticism, and at the same time thoroughly acquainted with the Welsh records and the bardic poems. It is, I presume, a wish to obtain such an authoritative and impartial discussion of the question that has induced the Committee of the Llangollen Eisteddvod to propose the subject; for, though the wording betrayed the hand of one who held the affirmative opinion, it was to be presumed that a subject which had been constantly

under discussion for three-quarters of a century, and which had been proposed as an open question at the Carmarthen Eisteddvod in 1823, when the decision was essentially negative, would certainly have been quite as open in 1858. This presumption was also warranted by the terms of the announcement: 'An *Essay* on the Discovery of America, by Prince Madoc;' the word *essay* implies liberty of thought, promises a field for discussion, and excludes the idea of a foregone conclusion. The positive character of the word *discovery* does not limit the meaning of the word *essay*, and must be interpreted in conformity therewith. Besides, it is perfectly consistent with literary usage, to retain a positive title when it has become familiar, when the subject is one open to discussion, and even when the conclusion is negative. A few examples will make this clear. Dr. Richard Bentley, one of the greatest of English scholars, in 1697 published his 'Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris,' in which he adopted the positive title given to those Epistles by Boyle and previous writers; while the aim of his book was to prove that they were forgeries, and that Phalaris was not their author. Wolf, the great German critic, in his 'Prolegomena ad Homerum,' retained the current name of the author of Iliad and Odyssey, though his aim was to prove that they were not the work of any one man named Homer. Dr. Thomas Brown published 'An Essay on the Relation of Cause and Effect,' in which he upheld Hume's doctrine that there are no such things as causes and effects. Mr. Nash has published a work designated 'Taliesin,' though he holds Taliesin to be a myth. And, lastly, Sir George Cornewall Lewis has published two volumes 'On the Credibility of Early Roman History,' the purport of which is this, that the early Roman history is incredible. The examples of Bentley, Wolf, and Lewis fully justify me in having considered the subject as one which might fairly

be examined and discussed. I presumed that the Committee were not wholly insensible to the enlightened spirit and uncompromising love of truth that form the characteristics of the nineteenth century. I could not, therefore, readily have believed that there was any intention to exclude the discussion of the subject, and to bind the competitors to take the affirmative side, without any inquiry into the value and nature of the evidence; for I should have felt myself, in the interests of historical truth, bound to denounce, as an insult to the literary sons of Cambria, as a stigma upon the truthfulness of my countrymen, any compulsion or inducement to uphold that as veritable truth which could not be shown to be so when subjected to a searching and candid examination, '*Yng ngwyneb haul a llygad goleuni*,' 'in the face of the sun and in the eye of light.' I, therefore, considered the question to be an open one, and treated it accordingly.

The fairest method of treating the subject, and that which will be most calculated to induce a judicial frame of mind, in both the reader and myself, seems to me to be this: firstly, to present the literature of the subject, leaving the statements, without note or comment, to make their own impression; secondly, to pass in review the opinions of the various writers who have treated the subject, and to exhibit the impressions produced by the facts upon other minds; and, lastly, to engage ourselves in a critical discussion of the whole matter.

Pursuing this line of inquiry, I have discussed the subject in all its bearings, and have endeavoured to treat it exhaustively. In so doing, I may have laid myself open to the charge of excessive diffuseness, but I have done so in deference to the feelings of my countrymen. The subject has taken a firm hold of their minds, and has all the force of a patriotic sentiment. They are naturally and pardonably proud of the

supposed achievement of Madoc; they will hold to it with all their wonted tenacity, so long as a single shred of supposed evidence remains unrefuted; and therefore, in calling upon them to give up this illusion, I feel it to be my duty to present them with such an overwhelming weight of argument as will command even their unwilling assent.

# CHAPTER I.

## THE FACTS AND STATEMENTS USUALLY CITED TO PROVE THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY MADOC AP OWEN GWYNEDD.

I SHALL present these statements in the order of chronology, and cite them, each and all, with all the fulness that the subject demands, omitting nothing that is relevant to the inquiry; including nothing calculated to convey a false impression, and abstaining from any expression of opinion on my own part.

### *Section I.*—BARDIC POEMS.

Of all the authorities usually named in this connection, the earliest in point of date are the Bardic Poems; and as several of the passages referred to were composed by bards who were the contemporaries of Madoc, their testimony, if clear and full, is entitled to the greatest consideration. These poems, especially the portions of them usually cited, have therefore been held in considerable esteem; but, singularly enough, this estimation has been shared by each of several contending parties, and all appeal to them with equal confidence; some to prove that Madoc found an unknown country in the West, some to show that he landed either in Armorica or Gallicia; and some to deny that Madoc ever left his own country. All these interpretations cannot possibly be correct; and it therefore becomes of importance to have the passages presented in their simple and original form, that the reader may be able to draw his own inferences therefrom. The

passages in dispute occur in the poems of bards named Cynddelw, Llywarch ab Llywelyn—called 'Prydydd y Moch,' —Gwalchmai, and Meredydd ab Rhys.

We will cite the passages in the order of the above names. CYNDDELW was one of the principal bards of the twelfth century; and as his poems extend over the latter half of the twelfth, into the first half of the thirteenth century, he must have lived to a good old age. He has several poems addressed to Owen Gwynedd, the father of Madoc; and among these is one entitled 'Marwnat Teulu Ywein Gwynet,' or the Elegy of the Family of Owen Gwynedd, who was Prince of North Wales from A.D. 1137 to 1169. In this poem are found four lines, which to all appearance have reference to Madoc the son of Prince Owen. They constitute a Welsh verse of the kind called an englyn, and appear to have been first cited in this connection by the late Dr. Owen Pughe. He cited them on two occasions, and with some slight variations. While yet simple William Owen, he supplied a copy to Dr. John Williams, who published them in 1792, and in the following form:

Oni llas Madawg, myr dygyforth far?
Mau afar câr cynnorth,
Oedd anwas cas cad ehorth,
Oedd anwar par yn y porth.

It was accompanied by an English translation, which ran thus:

Is not Madog dead, by the overwhelming wrath of seas?
Ah! Grief assails me for the ready helping Friend;
He was not the Slave of Hatred in the toils of Battle,
Nor was he tame in the Gate when he grasped his spear.[1]

[1] *Farther Observations on the Discovery of America, by Prince Madog ab Owen Gwynedd* (London, 1792), p. 48. This was a continuation of Dr. Williams's *Enquiry into the Truth of the Tradition concerning the Discovery of America by Prince Madog ab Owen Gwynedd &c.* (London, 1791).

Dr. Pughe cited the englyn subsequently, in his Welsh-English Dictionary, under the word *Dygyforth*, and again rendered it into English; but here he discards the interrogative *oni*, and reads '*yn y*;' alters the punctuation; substitutes *cymhorth* for *cynnorth*, and *eorth* for *ehorth*; and gives a diametrically opposite meaning to the third line:

> Where did the wrath of overflowing seas
> Cut Madog off! Grief for the aiding friend
> Remains to me! in ruthless conflict high
> His hate; nor tame was in the gate his spear.

Dr. John Jones and Mr. Humphreys Parry, though taking different sides, accepted the first of these forms. But on comparing these two citations with the original poem, as published in the 'Myvyrian Archaiology,' we find that Dr. Pughe has made two alterations in his extract. He has not only substituted *oni*, is not, for the retrospective *eny*, since, but also changed *mur*, rampart or bulwark, the Kymric form of the Latin 'murus,' into *myr*, the plural of *mor*, sea; and he has thus introduced a reference to the sea into his citation when it had no place in the original.

The englyn in its authentic form runs thus:

> Eny llas madawc mur dygyuorth uar
> Meu auar car kynnorth
> Oet anwas cas cad ehorth
> Oet anwar par yn y porth.[1]

This differs from the first citation both in words and orthography; it has *mur* in the first line instead of *myr*; uses the initial *u* as a consonant, with the power of *f* or *v*; and has a *k* in *cynnorth*, in accordance with mediæval usage, though that letter has now no place in the Kymric alphabet. That *mur* is the reading of the 'Myvyrian' will be seen on verifying my reference; and that its meaning is what I have

[1] *Myv. Arch.* i. 225 (Gee's edit. 164).

represented it to be, may be seen in any Welsh-English Dictionary. Two illustrations will suffice:

Mûr, *s.* A wall. So in Armoric.—*Richards.*
Mur, *s.m.*—*pl. t.*-iau (mu-ur). That is firm, fixed, or established; a wall; a rampart.—*Pughe.*

In translating examples of the use of this word, the latter author gives 'bulwark' as an additional meaning of *mur*, and 'fences' as a rendering of the plural *muriau*; and this may safely be assumed to be the signification of the word. These points being established, it becomes necessary to offer a new translation, which I now submit:

Since Madoc, the bulwark of swelling rage, was slain,
I mourn a helping friend;
The virile[1] one was fierce in the busy fight;
He was an arrogant commander in the portal.

That is the real sense of the passage, which will now be left to produce its own impression, with only one additional remark. The poem in which it occurs laments the death of several members of Owen Gwynedd's family who had died in his lifetime; it opens with an invocation to Owen himself, as one living in honourable old age; and, therefore, seems to have been composed before his death, which took place in A.D. 1169.

Llywarch Prydydd y Moch was also contemporary with the sons of Owen Gwynedd, though probably twenty or thirty years younger than Cynddelw. He has numerous poems addressed to the sons and grandsons of Prince Owen; and no less than three passages from his poems have been cited in the present connection. The first of these in point of date is a short poem of variable yet old orthography, here subjoined:

[1] Under the word *Anwas*, Dr. Pughe gives a third version of this line, and an absurd rendering of this word, i.e. 'not a hero, a coward;' whereas the literal meaning is, 'not a servant,' or, 'not a boy.'

AWDYL YR HAEARN TWYMYN.

*Prydyt y Moch ae cant.*

Creawdyr nef crededun y was
Credwn y hwn val y credwn yonas
Dur ynad detyf rad ry sswynas douyt
Dof wyf yt yn wanas
Dywynnyc dy wir dy wynnyas [1]
Dy wynnuyd ym kywyd nyd kas
Edrych pan vernych ueint uyn tras
Creadur poethgur path greas
Archaf arch y bedyr o berthynas crist
A duc crog yn vrtas
Trwy eiryawl tec ymyawl tomas a phylip
A phawl ac Andras
O afleu uy llaw a llauyn wyn las
O afeith goleith galanas
Da haearn diheura pan llas
Lleith madawc nad om llaw y cauas
Noc ae ceif cain ae glas
Rann o nef ae naw ternas
A minheu mynnaf gyweithas
Bot duw ym a dianc oe gas.

*Myv. Arch.* i. 289 (Gee's edit. 205).

The relevance of this poem was first indicated by Mr. Humphreys Parry (*Cambro-Briton*, i. 61); but it was first translated in the *Literature of the Kymry* (p. 142),[2] though somewhat incorrectly. I shall therefore again give my own version.

ODE TO THE HOT IRON (OR FIERY ORDEAL).

*Prydydd y Moch sang it.*

Creator of heaven! His servant is a believer.
Shall we credit this one, as we credit Jonas?
Steel judge! Of free judgment, inspired by God;
I am submissive to thee, and bound:
Consecrated is thy truth, and glowing heat;
Thy blessedness is not repugnant to my song.
See when thou judgest, the greatness of my kindred.

[1] *Neu*, di wir yn wynias.

[2] 2nd edit. p. 131

Heat-afflicting creature! what created thee?
I will address a request to Peter, the relative of Christ,
Who honourably bore the cross,
Through the intercession of Thomas and Philip,
And Paul and Andrew.
From having with my hand and blade slain the blessed one,
From being accessory to a murderous deed,
Good iron exonerate me; that when
The assassin slew Madoc, he received not (the blow) from my hand;
And that he who slew the brilliant one,
Shall have no share of heaven, and its nine kingdoms;
And I will obtain fellowship
In God's love, and escape His enmity.

Here it may be allowable to observe that Madoc was not an uncommon name among the Kymry in the twelfth century; and that this singular poem does not expressly intimate that this Madoc was the son of Owen; but as there is a considerable degree of probability in favour of that supposition, and as Mr. Parry also thought that it had reference to this Madoc, we may reservedly adopt that assumption.

The second passage in the works of Llywarch occurs in a poem addressed to Rodri ab Owen; but it has always been cited without the first four lines, though they are very necessary to understand the full bearing of the passage:

Ker aber congwy kynnognes dwy dreic
Deu dragon yn ygres
Deu dremud am dud ae dodes
Dwy uytin orllin orllawes
Deu deyrn derrwyn didorres yn llid
Llu daear ae hoffes
Vn ar dir ar doruoet ry dres
Yn aruon yn arwar trachwres
Ac arall mynawc y mynwes mawrvor
Y mawr uar agkymhes
Yn esguraw hawl hawt adnes
Yn esgar y bawb am beues.

*Myv. Arch.* i. 284 (Gee's edit. 202).

This passage also, with the exception of the first four lines,

was first put forward by Dr. Williams, on the authority of Mr. Owen, who at that time did not include the last two lines. His translation was as follows:

> Two princes, who in their wrath dealt quick devastations,
> Were by the Inhabitants of Earth beloved;
> One on Land, leading his hard toiling Bands,
> In Arvon, quenching fierce ambition's Flame,
> The other of disposition mild, on the bosom of the mighty Sea,
> In great excess of Trouble.[1]

Three years later, Mr. Owen[2] added the last two lines, and gave a different translation of the whole, viz.:

> Two princes of strong passions broke off in Wrath;[3]
> The multitudes of the earth did love them;[4]
> One on land[5] in Arvon, allaying of ambition,[6]
> And another, a placid one[7] in the bosom of the vast ocean,
> In trouble great and immeasurable,[8]
> Prowling[9] after a possession easy to be guarded,
> Estranged from everyone for a country.[10]

Mr. Parry gives a similar translation, differing only in the variations here added as foot-notes; but he also commits the inconsistency of attributing 'strong passions' and placidity to the same person; and the translations of both, especially in the last four lines, are coloured by the prejudices of the writers; but for the present they may be allowed to stand. It will probably be observed that the name of Madoc does

[1] *Farther Observations &c.*, p. 46.

[2] *Cambrian Register*, i. 413.

[3] 'Broke out into anger,' J. H. Parry, *Essay on the Navigation of the Ancient Britons &c.* (Carmarthen, 1825).

[4] 'Delighted in them.' *Ibid.*

[5] Add: 'With hard toiling hosts.' *Ibid.*

[6] 'Excessive heat.' *Ibid.*

[7] 'Of placid manners, on.' *Ibid.*

[8] 'Troubles great and immeasurable.' *Ibid.*

[9] 'Roaming.' *Ibid.*

[10] 'For the sake of a dwelling.' *Ibid.*

not occur in this passage; and I may add that his name does not occur in any part of the poem from which it is taken; but Mr. Owen[1] saw a 'remarkable allusion to his fate' in the last four lines; and Mr. Parry considered this to be 'on every account the most important of the Bardic testimonies.'[2] My opinion on the relevance of this passage will appear in the third chapter.

The third and last of the Llywarch passages occurs in a poem addressed to Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, Prince of North Wales from 1194 to 1240, whom the bard lauds very heartily.

> Nyd treid tra dilyn pell ouyn pwy
> Py geidw yr gorddwfyr rac pob gorddwy
> Llywelyn ae keidw llew yn adwy
> Llyw gwynet ae met hyd y mawddwy
> Llaw orthrech wrth rwyfan mordwy
> Lloegyr wrthryn tra llynn llwmynnwy
> Wyr madawc ermidet uwyuwy
> Wyr ywein uirein y auarwy.
>
> *Myv. Arch.* i. 301 (Gee's edit. 213).

This passage also was first brought forward by Mr. Owen, and sadly misrepresented; the last line, which nullifies the inference drawn from the others, was omitted; the fifth was transposed and placed after the seventh, in order to connect a reference to the sea with the name 'Madoc'; and those two lines were then translated thus:

> Llywelyn, . . . . . .
> *Nephew* of Madoc whose departure
> We lament more and more.[3]

Here, *nephew* is a palpable misrepresentation; for the Kymric *wyr* signifies *grandson* and nothing else. The word *ermidedd*, here translated 'departure,' signifies *eremitical*; and

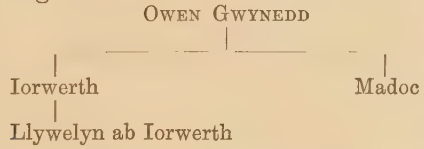
[1] *Cambrian Register, loc. cit.* [2] *Cambro-Briton*, i. 61.

[3] *Farther Observations*, p. 47. Dr. Jones, *Monthly Magazine*, September 1819; and Woodward's *History of Wales*, p. 327.

both words were differently rendered by Mr. Owen himself in his dictionary, under the word *ermidedd*, viz.:

> Llywelyn,
> The adversary of Lloegr, beyond the lake of Llwmynwy,
> The *grandson* of Madog, *inured to conflicts.*

Here the ideas of departure, loss, and lamentation disappear altogether; and the reading 'grandson' involves this dilemma: if the Madoc of this poem was the grandfather of Llywelyn, he was not Madoc ab Owen, and the passage becomes irrelevant; but if this was the son of Owen, then the poet was wrong in his genealogy. Mr. Owen had recourse to a process of accommodation, and made his version to suit the following pedigree:




Here it is clear that Llywelyn was the nephew of Madoc ab Owen; and accordingly the word *wyr* has been mistranslated to suit this fact; but as *wyr* means 'grandson,' and as Llywelyn was both *wyr Madoc* and *wyr Ywein*, the question naturally arises, was not this some other Madoc? It is also to be observed that the idea of 'departure' does not occur in the original, which might be thus rendered:

> It is not necessary to go far and ask,
> Who will guard the Gorddwr [1] from invasion?
> Llywelyn will guard it, a lion in the pass;
> The ruler of Gwynedd possesses it to Mawddwy;
> Dominant hand in rowing upon the sea,
> Opposer of Lloegr beyond Loch Lomond,
> Grandson of Madoc, . . .
> Grandson of Owen, sadness for whom is becoming.

[1] This is probably a proper name—that of a port in North Wales. It is mentioned by Giraldus, whose words are thus rendered by Sir R. C. Hoare: 'The length [of Wallia] from the Port of Gordher in

Gwalchmai was also the contemporary of Owen and his sons, and has left poems addressed to Owen Gwynedd; to his sons David and Rodri; and to Madoc ab Meredydd, Prince of Powys. The passage usually referred to Madoc ab Owen occurs in a poem addressed to Prince David, Owen's son and successor. After lamenting the death and burial of lords of high renown, he says he could not rest without naming them, as they 'bought' (the word is intended as a compliment) 'the praises' of the bards:

Owain angerdawl anaw anfeidrawl
Aer wrawl wrhydri
Cadwallawn cyn ei golli
Nid oed a lludw y llawdai fi
Cadwaladr cerdgar cerdau cyfarwar
Cyfarfu a'm perchi
Madawg madioed godoli
Mwy gwnaeth uy mod no'm codi
Un mab Maredud a thri meib grufud
Biau bud beird weini.
*Myv. Arch.* i. 198 (Gee's edit. 146).

The seventh and eighth lines are those which are understood to have a reference to the asserted discoverer of America; but the force of the passage will perhaps be better understood in an English translation. Mr. Owen's version (*Farther Obs.* p. 48) does not differ materially from mine, and therefore need not be inserted here; but he omits the

Anglesey, unto Port Eskewin in Monmouthshire is eight days' journey.' Hoare's *Giraldus*, ii. 253. Humphrey Llwyd, a Denbighshire man, and therefore a good authority on this point, instead of Gordher has *Gordwr* in citing this passage in his description of Britain. (*Breviary of Britain*, p. 57.)

In the *Triads*, the extreme port from Portskewitt is given as Porth Wygyr, or Red Wharf Bay; and possibly Gorddwr, literally 'the upper water,' was another name for that port. Hoare's idea, that the name was derived from *Gor-ddyar*, the roaring of the sea, is not a very just one. [More probably the *Gorddwr* of the poet was the low, flat border district on the Severn, on the borders of Montgomeryshire and Shropshire, sometimes called *Gorddwr Hafren*.]

last two lines of the extract here cited, which, it will be observed, have an important bearing upon this inquiry, as they, too, may possibly suggest a doubt as to whether the Madoc there named was really the son of Owen. It may also, perhaps, be questioned whether, even upon the affirmative assumption, this passage has any relevance to the discovery of America.

In an English dress the passage may be thus rendered:

Owen the vehement, transcendent musician,
Hero of valiant war;
Cadwallon, before he was lost,
It was not with ashes that he favoured me.
Cadwaladr the song-loving, for con-sônant poems
Honoured me.
Madog kindly apportioned gifts;
He did more to please than to offend me.
The one son of Meredydd, and three sons of Griffith,
Had the ministry of benefit to bards.

For the information of the reader it may perhaps be as well to state that Owen, Cadwallon, and Cadwaladr were three sons of Gruffydd ab Cynan.[1] Perhaps he can find who was the son of Meredydd without my aid.

The passage from 'Meredydd ab Rhys' is better known than any of the others, and is much more explicit. This bard is variously said to have flourished between the years 1430 and 1460,[2] about the year 1440,[3] and in the year 1477.[4] He was a clergyman, lived at Ruabon in Denbighshire, and was

[1] 'Owain Gwynedd was the eldest son of Gruffydd ab Cynan.'
'Cadwallawn, one of the sons of Gruffydd ab Cynan, was put to death at Nanheudwy about 1130.'
'Cadwaladr, the second son of Gruffydd ab Cynan, ended his turbulent life in 1172.'
Williams's *Eminent Welshmen*, pp. 56, 60, 369.

[2] Owen, *Cambrian Biography*, p. 251.

[3] Rev. Peter Bayley Williams, *Cambro-Briton*, i. 210.

[4] Sir Thomas Herbert's Travels (London, 1634).

the poetical tutor of Davydd ab Edmwnt.[1] Several of his poems are preserved in manuscript;[2] two of them are printed with English translations in the 'Iolo Manuscripts'; and one of the poems, there given in full, contains the passage referred to, which we extract as it stands in that collection.

The two poems in the 'Iolo Manuscripts' are addressed to one Ifan ab Tudur ab Gruffydd Llwyd, who lived at or about Maelor; one was composed to beg him to present the poet with a fishing-net; and the other to return thanks for the gift. In the latter we find these lines:

Helied Ifan hael dyfiad
Ar ei dir teg wir dre Tâd.
Mewn awr dda minnau ar ddŵr,
O fodd hael a fydd heliwr,
Madog wych mwyedig wedd,
Iawn genau Owain Gwynedd,
Ni fynnai dir, f'enaid oedd,
Na da mawr ond y moroedd.
Madog wyf im oed ai gais
Ar foroedd hyn arferais.
Rhodiaf hyd For ac Afon
Ar hyd eu gro a'm rhwyd gron.

*Iolo MSS.* pp. 323–4.

Portions of this passage have been already translated by Sir Thomas Herbert, Mr. Owen, Dr. Jones, and others; and the whole is translated in the 'Iolo Manuscripts,' p. 703; but here, again, I will take the liberty of giving my own version, which in the ninth and tenth lines will be found to differ materially from that of the editor of that compilation. He renders the lines,

Madoc am I, who throughout my life will seek,
Upon the seas, that which I have been used to;

and our version of the whole passage will here follow:

[1] P. B. Williams, *loc. cit.*
[2] Williams's *Eminent Welshmen*, p. 327.

Let Evan, of generous growth, hunt
Upon his fair land, his true patrimony;
In an auspicious hour, I also on water,
With the consent of the generous one, will
be a hunter.
Madoc the bold, of expanding form,
True whelp of Owen Gwynedd,
Would not have land (my kindred soul),
Nor great wealth but the seas.
I am a Madoc to my age, and to his passion
For the seas have I been accustomed.
I will walk by sea and river,
Along the strand with my circled net.

Here we evidently have a Madoc tradition; and it will be well to bear it in mind.

Another bard is named by Sir Thomas Herbert, i.e. Cynvrig or Cynwrig ab Grono; but he does not cite his words; the name is wholly unknown [1] to our two Cambrian biographers, Owen and Williams; the modern writers on the affirmative side do not cite him as one of their authorities; and hence we may assume that, at present at least, he is not forthcoming.

[1] [At least five persons of this name are known to have existed, viz.:

1. A '*Kenewrick ab Gronoei*,' Bailiff of Rhuddlan, took part in an Inquisition held at Prestanton, Dec. 13, 1279 (8 Edward I.). *Vide Archæologia Cambrensis*, first series, i. p. 339 ('Basingwerk Abbey,' &c.).

2. 'David Lloyt ap *Kenric ap Gronow*' is mentioned in a 'Roll of Fealty and Presentments' on the accession of Edward the Black Prince to the title of Prince of Wales. (Original Documents, ap. *Archæologia Cambrensis*, p. clii.)

3. 'Cynrig ab Gronw' is named as one of the Jurors in an 'extent' of the Commot of Glyn Llivon, Anglesey, 26 Edw. III. (A.D. 1352). *Cymmrodorion Transactions*, vol. i. p. 352.

4. The same names figure as one of the ancestors of Dafydd ab Gwilym in the pedigree given in the printed edition of that poet's Works (first edit. p. vi; second edit. p. vii.).

5. 'Cynfrig ab Gronw' was the leading minstrel at the 'Carmarthen Eisteddfod of 1451.' (Prof. J. E. Lloyd on 'Welsh Name-System'; *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. ix. p. 40.) But in the account of this Eisteddfod, published in *Y Greal* (London, 1805, p. 102), the minstrel in question is called simply '*Cynwrig Bencerdd*, a native of Tegeingl.']

Edward Jones saw an allusion to Madoc in the following lines, by Howel ab Owen, Madoc's brother:

Ked bwyfy karyadawc kerted ouyt
Gobwylled uy nuwy uy nihenyt
Tonn wenn orewyn wychyr wrth dreuyt.

Since I am a love wight, one inured to wander,
May God direct (retard?) my fate!
Fair foam-crowned wave of impetuous course.[1]

But I must confess I see nothing of the sort. The last line is a kind of catch-line commencing several verses in the same poem. (*Myv. Arch.* i. 277; Gee's edit. 198.)

## *Section II.*—Historical Testimonies.

Having thus exhausted the list of Bardic passages, we come in the next place to deal with those which are of a more historical form.

One of these, and that which has been relied upon with most confidence, though not perhaps the earliest in date, is the following Triad, which occurs in the Third Series published in the 'Myvyrian Archaiology':

'10. Tri Difancoll ynys Prydain: Cyntaf, Gafran ab Aeddan a'i wŷr a aethant i'r mor ynghyrch y Gwerdonau Llion, ac ni chlywyd mwyach am danynt; Ail, Merddyn Bardd Emrys Wledig a'i naw Beirdd Cylfeirdd a aethant i'r mor yn y Ty Gwydrin, ac ni bu son i ba le ydd aethant; y Trydydd, Madawg ab Owain Gwynedd, a aeth i'r mor a thrichannyn gydag ef mewn deg llong, ac ni wyddys i ba le ydd aethant.'[2]

In translation, as follows:

'The three Vanished Losses of the Isle of Britain: First, Gavran son of Aeddan and his men, who went to sea in search

[1] *The Bardic Museum &c.* (London, 1802), p. 37.
[2] *Myv. Arch.* ii. 59 (Gee's edit. 401).

of the Green Isles of Floods, and were never heard of more.[1] Second, Merddin, the Bard of Aurelius Ambrosius, and his nine Scientific Bards, who went to sea in the House of Glass, and there has been no account whither they went.[2] Third, Madoc son of Owen Gwynedd, who went to sea with three hundred men in ten ships, and it is not known to what place they went.'

This Triad appears to have been framed after the Triads of the first and second series; for, though they mention the 'difancoll' of Gavran, they make no reference whatever to the disappearance of Madoc. The orthography of the third series is comparatively modern; and it is thought that the two sets of materials of which it is constituted could not have been composed before the commencement of the sixteenth century;[3] for it was compiled in 1601 by Thomas Jones of Tregaron, from the Book of Ieuan Brechva, and another manuscript called The Book of Caradoc of Llancarvan. The propriety of this designation has been denied; and the

[1] Some remarks respecting Gavran will be made hereafter. Southey refers to this legend in the lines, 'Where are the sons of Gavran?' &c.; and Dr. Callcott has set the verses to some fine music.

[2] Houses of glass are often mentioned in the romances of the Middle Ages. Southey has a note on the subject in his *Madoc*, i. 276; see also *Lit. of the Kymry*, p. 201 (second edit. p. 192). Nennius alludes to a *tower of glass* seen off the Irish Coast; and the Romance of Alexander the Great, composed in the thirteenth century, and supposed to contain some Persian elements, speaks of a *vessel* of glass in which Alexander went under the sea, to observe *how the fish lived*!

There seems to be some misconception as to *Glastonbury* Abbey, at the root of this Ty Gwydrin legend—for that was built in the Isle of Avallon, called, probably by translation of *Glaston*, *Ynys Wydrin*: so that, after all, Merddin and his nine bards might simply have become monks at Glastonbury Abbey, though the Triads must intend that he was wholly lost.

[3] [Mr. Stephens has discussed the so-called 'Historical Triads' at considerable length, in an essay published in the Welsh magazine, *Y Beirniad* (Llanelly, 1863-65).]

manuscript in question certainly appears to have been written in the orthography of the sixteenth century, four hundred years after the time of the monk Caradoc.

Another testimony is that of Ieuan Brechva, a Carmarthenshire antiquary, herald, and bard, of some celebrity, who died about the year 1500. He composed an epitome of Welsh History, which has been published in the 'Myvyrian Archaiology'; but that contains no reference whatever to Madoc ap Owen. The testimony in question is said to occur in another work, and is thus represented by Mr. W. Owen in his 'Cambrian Biography':

'This expedition (i.e. the one mentioned in the preceding Triad) was planned by Madog and his brother Rhiryd, in consequence of a prior one in 1170, whereby he discovered land far in the ocean of the West, as it is recorded in a book of pedigrees written by *Ieuan Brechva*, about the year 1460.'[1]

Mr. Humphreys Parry also lays stress upon the testimony of *Ieuan Brechva*;[2] but neither of these writers gives the exact words of this antiquary; and it is a noticeable fact that the Rev. Robert Williams, in reproducing the usual testimonies in the article 'Madog' in his 'Eminent Welshmen,' omits all mention of this 'book of pedigrees.'[3] But Mr. Owen and Mr. Parry probably referred to the statement made by Dr. Williams in these words: 'It is said by Ieuan Brechfa, a bard who flourished about the year 1480, that Rhiryd, an illegitimate son of Owen Gwynedd, who, Dr. Powel says, was Lord of Clochran in Ireland, accompanied Madog across the Atlantic

[1] Article *Madog ap Owain Gwynedd*, p. 233.

[2] *Cambro-Briton*, vol. i. p. 61.

[3] [There is in the Hengwrt collection at Peniarth a 'Book of Pedigrees' (Hengwrt MS. 414) in the autograph of Ieuan Brechfa, and under No. 114 in the catalogue of Peniarth MSS. this is called 'Llyfr Ieuan Brechfa.' (*Arch. Cambrensis*, fourth series, vol. i. p. 339.) This MS., however, makes no mention of any such expedition.]

(*Morwerydd*) to some lands they had found there, and there dwelt.'[1] Dr. Williams does not state where he found this statement; neither does he give the passage in the exact words of the writer; and we have no means of judging in what connection the statement originally appeared. He naturally infers that Ieuan Brechva supports the Madoc tradition; but on the other side it has been argued that Ieuan simply meant that Madoc went somewhere 'across Morwerydd'; [2] and it is not improbable that *Morwerydd* with him meant the Irish Sea.

The testimony of the bard of Brechva is thus found to be in a very unsatisfactory condition; and we shall discover, in the next place, that similar difficulties present themselves in regard to the testimony of Guttyn Owen. Of all the witnesses in this case, to use legal phraseology, he has been deemed to be the most important; his testimony has been thought decisive; and more than one writer of note has made his acceptance of the asserted discovery to turn upon the question whether Guttyn Owen wrote before or after the discovery of the new continent by Columbus. But when we seek the *ipsissima verba* of this bard, we are at once confronted by this difficulty. On the one side it is affirmed that Guttyn Owen wrote in Welsh the account afterwards given by Humphrey Lhoyd or Llwyd, and that Llwyd's account is simply a translation from the works of that bard. On the other hand, it is affirmed that Llwyd does not mention Guttyn Owen, that he makes no reference to any other authority, that he was the first writer[3] who declared that Madog had discovered a

[1] *Farther Observations*, p. 28.

[2] Woodward's *History of Wales*, p. 328.

[3] [It has been generally assumed that the Madoc story was first made known to English readers in the work of Dr. Powel in 1584. The fallacy of this assumption was first shown by Mr. Edward Owen, who, in an able Essay on this subject, published in the *Red Dragon* (Cardiff, 1885), drew attention to a rare tract by Sir George Peckham

western continent, and that Guttyn's testimony was simply what is given on his authority by Dr. Powel, namely, that Madoc sailed with ten ships. Now it is certainly true that Llwyd does not name Guttyn, and gives no indication of having used any other authority, while the fact that he advances several opinions of his own militates against the supposition of his being a translator. And it is also true that Dr. Powel, who mentions Guttyn Owen, cites him specially as an authority for the 'ten ships'; but whether Guttyn Owen merely made a statement similar to that of the Triad, or went further and indicated the discovery of a western continent, cannot be confidently inferred from this citation. Powel believed the reported discovery, and Guttyn Owen's words, as they are set in Powel's narrative, have the appearance of confirming it; but whether they would signify as much when separated from this connection, and standing alone, cannot be determined. I have made several efforts to obtain the exact words, but have hitherto been unsuccessful.

Having thus fairly stated the actual facts respecting the

published in 1583, and entitled 'A True Reporte of the late discoveries and possession taken in the right of the Crowne of England of the New found Landes by that valiaunt and worthye Gentleman Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight.' Peckham's account, which is dedicated to Sir Francis Walsingham, agrees substantially with that of Powel, and both are professedly supported by statements made by one David Ingram, of whom more hereafter. Mr. Owen, in the essay in question, regrets his inability to discover any particulars of the life of Peckham. There are, however, various references to him in the State Papers of the period, in one of which he is described as 'of Denham in the County of Kent, Knight.' (*State Papers, Domestic*, Elizabeth, vol. clxi. No. 44, which is an Indenture between Sir Philip Sydney and Sir George Peckham, assuring to the latter 30,000 acres of land in America, part of a grant to Sir Philip of 'thirty hundred thousand acres of ground to be discovered.' Other references to Peckham are in *St. P.* vol. xcv. No. 63; vol. cxlvi. No. 40, and vol. cxlviii. No. 4.)]

testimony of Guttyn Owen, I may now perhaps be permitted to relate what has the appearance of being a joke. Mr. Woodward tells the story. 'A zealous antiquary did once,' he said, 'get sight of Guttyn Owen's very chronicle, wherein was Llwyd's narrative exactly told; but when he wished to make a more careful comparison, the precious MS. was gone; nor could he ever afterwards learn so much as where it was.'[1]

This is probably another version of a statement made by Dr. Williams, which is to the effect that the Rev. Josiah Rees informed Mr. Edward Williams (*Iolo Morganwg*)—who in such matters was himself a better authority—that he had two or three fair MSS. of Caradoc of Llancarvan, with the continuation by the monks of Strata Florida, Guttyn Owen, &c.; that he compared them with Dr. Powel's translation; and that he found the latter to be the most faithful that he ever met with in any language.'[2] But this statement is not strictly relevant to the inquiry; for, though the translation of Llwyd and Powel is faithful, where it is a translation at all, the part of the 'Historie of Cambria' relating to Madoc neither appears nor professes to be so. Mr. Rees does not appear to have stated specifically that he had in MS. an original counterpart of their statement; and, if he had, he might have been convicted of misstatement by his own act; for in the Welsh magazine[3] of which he was editor he published one of these MS. chronicles; but it makes no reference whatever to Madoc ap Owen.

Dr. Williams supposed that these MSS. had disappeared; but, as I have said, one of them was published in 1770 by Mr. Rees, and the Chronicle of Guttyn Owen is very well

[1] Woodward's *History of Wales*, pp. 329, 330.

[2] *Farther Observations*, p. 20.

[3] *Trysorfa Gwybodaeth, neu, Eurgrawn Cymraeg.* J. Ross, Caerfyrddin (1770).

known. It is now in the possession of Thomas Griffith, Esq., of Wrexham, and is the MS. usually cited as the 'Book of Basingwerk'; but I believe that it may be confidently affirmed that, so far from containing Llwyd's narrative, it has not as much as a single word on the subject. It is well known that the late Mr. Aneurin Owen, under the auspices of what was termed the Record Commission, prepared an edition of the Welsh Chronicles for the press. A portion of this work, coming down from A.D. 688 to 1066, was published in the handsome folio volume entitled 'Monumenta Historica Britannica'; and in that portion Mr. Owen is seen to have made frequent use of the 'Book of Basingwerk,' and to have collated that with the other chronicles. Feeling perfectly assured that, if this MS. contained the Madoc narrative, it would appear in Mr. Owen's MS. edition, I wrote, for the purpose of this essay, to his son, the late William Owen, Esq., of Tan y Gyrt, near Denbigh, to make the requisite search; and in a reply, dated Feb. 10, 1858, he informs me that, under and about the year 1170, there is no reference whatever to Madoc or his expedition. We must therefore cease to refer this narrative to Guttyn Owen's Chronicle, and seek elsewhere for the statement cited by Dr. Powel.

Next in order comes the testimony of that 'paineful and worthie searcher of Brytish antiquities,' Humphrey Llwyd. He was a native of Denbigh, born of highly respectable parents, received a collegiate education, took the degree of M.A. at Oxford in 1551, represented his native town in Parliament, and died in his forty-first year in 1568. He corresponded with several of the most learned men of his day, and composed several works relating to Wales and its history. Of these the most important was an historical work, written in 1559, which he left in MS. and unfinished. A copy being in the hands of Sir Henry Sidney, Lord President of the Marches, it was at his solicitation edited, extended, and

published in 1584, by Dr. David Powel, under the designation of the 'Historie of Cambria.'[1]

In this volume we meet with the following passage, or rather paragraph, for which the sole authority named in the margin is 'H. Lhoyd'; and hence it has been argued that Dr. Powel knew of no other authority for the statements therein contained.[2]

Llwyd's words here follow:

'Madoc another of Owen Gwyneth his sonnes left the land in contention betwixt his brethren, and prepared certaine ships with men and munition, and sought aduentures by seas, sailing West, and leauing the coast of Ireland so far north, that he came to a land vnknowen, where he saw manie strange things. This land must needs be some part of that countrie of which the Spaniardes affirme themselves to be the first finders sith Hanno's time; for by reason and order of Cosmographie, this land, to the which Madoc came, must needs be some part of Noua Hispania or Florida. Wherevpon it is manifest, that that countrie was long before by Brytaines discouered, afore either Columbus or Americus Vesputius lead anie Spaniardes thither. Of the viage and returne of this Madoc there be manie fables fained, as the common people doo vse in distance of place and length of time rather to augment than to diminish: but sure it is, that there he was. And after he had returned home and declared the pleasant and fruitfull countries that he had seene without inhabitants; and vpon the contrarie part, for what barren and wild ground his brethren and nephues did murther one another: he prepared a number of ships, and got with him such men and women as were desirous to liue in quietnes, and taking leaue

[1] Williams's *Eminent Welshmen*. This work contains a very ful biographical notice of Humphrey Lhoyd, Lhuyd, or Llwyd.

[2] Woodward's *History of Wales*, p. 329.

of his freends tooke his iournie thitherward againe.[1] Therefore it is to be presupposed, that he and his people inhabited part of those countries; for it appeareth by Francis Loues,[2] that in Acusanus[3] and other places, the people honored the crosse: whereby it may be gathered that Christians had beene there, before the comming of the Spaniards. But bicause this people were not manie, they folowed the maners of the land they came vnto, and vsed the language they found there.'[4]

Columbus landed on October 12, 1492, on one of the Bahama Islands, a little to the south of Florida; and in the course of the ensuing months discovered St. Domingo, which he named Hispaniola, and which, after leaving the crew of one of his vessels to form a colony, he left to return homewards, January 4, 1493. Llwyd here supposes that Madoc must have landed in one of the two places discovered by Columbus; but Dr. Powel held a different opinion, and, in continuation of the above account, made the following remarks:

'This Madoc arriuing in that Westerne countrie, vnto the which he came, in the yeare 1170, left most of his people there; and returning backe for more of his owne nation, acquaintance and freends, to inhabite that faire and large countrie: went thither againe with ten sailes, as I find noted by Gutyn Owen. I am of opinion that the land, wherevnto he came, was some part of Mexico: the causes which make me to thinke so be these.

[1] The point of departure is unsettled. Sir Thomas Herbert makes it Abergwilley (Abergwili, near Carmarthen, or Abergele, Carnarvonshire?); Howel, Milford (*Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ*, Bk. ii. l. 55; and Rev. Isaac Taylor, 'Ynys Hir,' near Port Madoc (*Words and Places*, p. 372). 'From Ynys Hir, now some way inland, Madoc is said to have sailed in quest of unknown lands.'

[2] Lopez de Gomara. [3] Acusamil and Yucatan.

[4] *Historie of Cambria*, pp. 166-7 (ed. 1811). See also Wynne's edition (1697) under A.D. 1170.

'1. The common report of the inhabitants of that countrie, which affirme, that their rulers descended from a strange nation, that came thither from a farre countrie: which thing is confessed by Mutezuma, king of that countrie, in his oration made for quieting of his people, at his submission to the king of Castile, Hernando Curteis being then present, which is laid downe in the Spanish Chronicles of the conquest of the West Indies.

'2. The Brytish words and names of places, vsed in that countrie euen to this daie, doo argue the same: as when they talke togither, they use this word Gwrando, which is, Hearken or listen. Also they haue a certeine bird with a white head, which they call Pengwin, that is, white head. But the Iland of Corroeso, the cape of Bryton, the river of Gwyndor, and the white rocke of Pengwyn, which be all Brytish or Welsh words, doo manifestlie shew that it was that countrie which Madoc and his people inhabited.'[1]

Hakluyt, Raleigh, Purchas, Marriott, Paget, Abbott, and a host of other writers, afterwards repeated the story; but they add nothing of any importance to the narrative of Llwyd and Powel, and cannot be considered to be original authorities.[2]

Dr. John Williams gives Hakluyt's account in his essay,

[1] *Historie of Cambria*, p. 167 (ed. 1811).

[2] Hakluyt, *Voyages*, iii. (1st ed. 1589, p. 506); Raleigh, *History of the World*; Pagett, *Christianography*, p. 47; Purchas, *Pilgrimage*, b. viii. p. 890; Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury, *History of the World*, pp. 255 *et seq.*, says America was discovered by a Welsh prince, and was known to King Arthur (!). John Marriott seems to have written in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He also refers to two Cambrian traditions relative to the discovery of America—one by King Arthur, and the other 'by a knight of Wales and some pretty company,' meaning Madoc. Dr. Williams (*Enquiry*, &c. p. 17) seems inclined to elevate him to the rank of an original authority; but the fifth edition, quoted by Williams, is dated 1620, and the reference to the Penguin seems to imply that he had read or heard of Powel's narrative.

and in reference to the words 'with ten sailes, as I find noted by Guttun Owen,' appends the following note:

'Hakluyt says, that he derived this account from Guttun Owen: his writings, therefore, must have been extant in the days of Hakluyt. He does not refer to Humphrey Llwyd or Dr. Powel as his authorities.'[1]

Dr. Williams is in error. Hakluyt does refer to Powel's 'History of Wales' as his authority; and his account is a mere repetition of Llwyd and Powel's. He gives Guttyn Owen's statement in the exact words of Dr. Powel; and therefore Dr. Williams's inference falls to the ground; for the original authority is therefore Powel, and not Hakluyt. There need be no question that Powel saw the statement in one of Guttyn's manuscripts: and the question which interests us is this: Was the statement about the 'ten ships' all that Powel found in the writings of that bard?

Sir Thomas Herbert, a great traveller in the early part of the seventeenth century, is the next writer of note upon this question. His account has been republished at length in 'The Literature of the Kymry,' pp. 143–7,[2] and is therefore easily accessible. In this place, for that reason, we shall omit the first part thereof, which cites a passage from Seneca, supposed to be a 'dim light to show the way to the western world,' and gives an account of the contentions between the sons of Owen Gwynedd. He then proceeds thus:

'These intestine broils were in no way pleasing to Madoc, another of the sons of Owain, who seems to have foreseen that the ruin of their country would be the consequence of their discord and fraternal rage. Therefore, to avoid the storm and provide for himself, he resolves upon a sea adventure, hoping to find some place abroad where he might fix himself securely, and not be open to invasion. Thus says tradition. It is not unlikely but that Madoc was acquainted

[1] *Enquiry &c.* p. 12. [2] Second edition, pp. 133 *et seq.*

with the prophecy or "dim lights" which led to the discovery of the western world. Madoc having provided ships, men, and provision, put to sea from Abergwilley, in the year 1170. Wind and sea favouring his design, after some weeks' sailing due west, he descried land, probably Newfoundland; but whatever it was it overjoyed him. Madoc then ranging the coast, so soon as he found a convenient place, sat down to plant, meaning, fixed on a spot to form his intended settlement. After he had stayed there awhile to recruit the health of his men, he fortified his settlement and left 120 men there to protect it. And by providence (the best compass) he returned in safety to his own country. Having recounted his voyage, the fruitfulness of the soil, the simplicity of the savages, the wealth abounding there, and facility of enlargement, after some months' refreshment, in ten barques laden with necessary provisions, they put to sea again, and happily recovered their settlement.[1] They found but few of those whom they had left remaining, their death, it is conjectured, being by an incautious indulgence in the produce of a novel climate and country, or the treachery of the natives. Madoc, with the assistance of his brothers Eineon and Edwal, put things once more in comparative good order, and remained there some time, expecting the arrival of more of their countrymen from Wales, for which they had made arrangements previous to their departure; but they never came, and caused grievous disappointment. The cause of this failure is said to have been the wars which ensued, and which called for the service of every man for the defence of his country, but which ended in the subjugation of Wales by the English.

'But though Madoc and his Cambrian crew be dead, and their memory moth-eaten, yet are their footsteps plainly

[1] Edward Williams (*Iolo Morganwg*) assigns the date of 1195 to the second voyage, and professes to have Herbert's authority (*Poems, Lyric and Pastoral*, ii. p. 65); but this is apparently an error.

traceable, which the language they left, the religion they taught, and the reliques they found do clearly evidence. Otherwise how are we to account for the British words, not much altered from the dialect used at this day, among the Mexicans? Whence had they the use of beads, crucifixes, &c.? All which the Spaniards, as we read in Lopez de Gomeza and others, found amongst those, Acusano and Calhuæan, at their first landing in America. Yea, whence comes that tradition amongst the Mexicans, that a strange people came thither in corraugles who taught them the knowledge of God, and by whose instruction they became civilised, as is related by Columbus, Postellus, Francus, Lopez, Cortes, and other Castilians?

'That of Herniando Cortes, who A.D. 1519 was ambassador and general for Ferdinand and Isabella, is most remarkable. In some discourse between him and Montezuma, the second son of Antzol, and father of Quabutimoc, the last king of Mexico, Cortes, observing the Indians to have many ceremonies which the Spaniards used, demanded who instructed them. The answer was, that many years before, a strange nation landed there, who were such a people as induced his ancestors to afford them a civil reception. But how they were called, or whence they came, he could not satisfy. Another time, in a panegyric which Montezuma returned them, he had this expression: "One chief cause of my affection to your nation is, I have heard my father say, how that he had heard his grandfather affirm, that some generations before, his progenitors came thither as strangers in company of a nobleman who abode there awhile, and then departed, but left many of his people behind. That upon his return, most of those he left there died; and that from him or some of them they supposed themselves to be descended." By which narrative it may be presumed, the people he meant were Welsh rather than Spaniards. And the records of that voyager, writ by many

bards and genealogists, confirm as much, as may appear by the learned poems of Cynwric ab Grono, Guttyn Owain, who lived in Edward the Fourth's time; and Sir Meredith ab Rees, who lived in 1477, of Madoc had this eulogy:

Madoc wif mwydic wedd
Iawn genau Owain Gwynedd
Ni funnwn dyr fy enaid oedd
Na da mawr ond y moroedd.

Madoc ab Owen called was I;
Strong, comely, brave, of stature high;
No home-bred pleasures proved my aim;
By land and sea I won high fame.[1]

'By their language also, Welsh names being given to birds and beasts, rivers and nooks, &c. &c., as pengwyn, a bird that has a white head; craigwen, a white rock; gwynddwr, white water; nev, heaven; llwynog, a fox; wy, an egg; calaf, a quill; bara, bread; trwyn, a nose; mam, a mother; tad, father; dwr, water; pryd, time; and many others. There are islands called Corrhœso, and a cape Britain. Buwch, a cow; and clugar, a heathcock,[2] &c., &c. Nor is it a phansie

[1] These four lines were first published in this connection by Hakluyt, and they were communicated to him by the celebrated antiquary, William Camden, with this title:

'Carmina Meredith Filii Rhesi, mentionem facientia de Madoco, Filio Oweni Gwyneth, et de sua Navigatione in Terras incognitas. Vixit hic Meredith circiter Anno Domini 1477.'

Then follow the lines as given by Herbert; and it is probable that he found them in and cited them from *Hakluyt's Voyages*, which were first published in 1589, and again in 1599–1600.

It has, indeed, been suggested by Iolo Morganwg (*Poems, Lyric and Pastoral*, ii. p. 65), and after him by Mr. Humphreys Parry (*Cambro-Briton*, i. p. 61), that Herbert had his materials from the library of Raglan Castle; but his statements can, for the most part, be traced to other sources, and there does not seem to be any authority for this suggestion.

[2] I am unable to trace the authorities for these Welsh words. Howell (ii. Ep. lvi.) refers them to 'some navigators.' '*Penguin*' and *Gwynethes*, and 'divers other Welsh words,' are named by David

of yesterday, since learned men both of late and former times have taken notice. Such are Cynwric ab Grono, Meredith ab Rees, Guttyn Owain, Lloyd, Howell, Prys, Hackluit, Broughton, Purchas, Davy, and others, whose learning and integrity have credit, and abundantly convince the ingenious, so as no doubt had it been known and inherited, then had not Columbus, Americus Vespusius, Magellan, nor others carried away the honour of so great a discovery. Nor had Madoc been defrauded of his memory, nor our kings of their just title to a portion of the West Indies.' [1]

Ingram, an enterprising voyager of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in some 'Relations,' cited in *Gilbert's Voyages*. Dr. Harris, the naval historian, names Ingram in connection with one Miles Phillips.*

* ['The relation of David Ingram, of Barking, in the County of Essex, sailor,' who sailed with Sir John Hawkins on his third voyage to the West Indies in 1568, was, together with the narrative of his fellow-sailor, Miles Phillips, printed in the first edition of *Hakluyt's Voyages*, 1589, p. 557, but Ingram's *Relation* was omitted in the second edition, 1599-1600. Ingram's words are as follows: 'There is also another kind of fowl in that country . . . they have white heads, and therefore the countrymen call them Penguins, which seemeth to be a Welsh name. And they have also in use divers other Welsh words. A matter worth the noting.' Ingram's *Relation* (the original MS. of which is still extant in the British Museum, Sloane MS. 1447) is expressly stated to have been made to Sir Francis Walsingham, Knight, Sir George Peckham, Knight, and others in August and September 1582. Ingram is thus the earliest known authority for these Welsh words.]

[1] '*Relation of some Years' Travaill into Africa and Asia the Great, especially describing the famous Empires of Persia and Industan, as also divers other Kingdoms in the Oriental Indies and the Isles adjacent. With a Discourse on the Discovery of America by the Welsh three hundred years before Columbus.* By Sir Thomas Herbert, Bart. *Pawb yn y arver.*' (Folio. London, 1634. Republished in 1638 and 1677.)

[This 'just title' was again seriously asserted in the year 1739 in an anonymous work entitled, *The British Sailor's Discovery; or, the Spanish Pretensions confuted* (London, 1739). In pp. 12-14, the discovery of America by Madoc is mentioned, and a long quotation from Powel given, but no new matter is added.]

Sir Thomas Herbert was made a baronet by Charles the Second for his fidelity to that king's father; but his travels belong to an earlier period of his life. He was born at York in 1606, educated at Oxford and Cambridge, and went to Persia in 1626, in the suite of Sir Dodmore Cotton, through the interest and at the expense of his kinsman, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke. He returned to England at the end of four years, having travelled very extensively in Eastern parts. He published his travels in 1634; a second edition, revised and enlarged, appeared in 1638; and a third in 1677; but the first must be taken to be the date of the testimony above given.

Another writer on this subject was James Howell, a celebrated author of the same age. He was born in 1596, was a native of Carmarthenshire, the son of a clergyman, and educated at Jesus College, Oxford, where he took his bachelor's degree. He lived in the stormy period of the Civil War, got involved in debt, and was committed to the Fleet prison in London. Here he took to writing for the press; but is best known by his letters, which were characterised by liveliness, sagacity, and good sense. These were the earliest collection of the kind published in this country, and extended over four volumes. The first volume of the 'Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ' appeared in 1645, and the fourth in 1655. There were many subsequent editions, but these are the dates we require; and it is in the first, second, and fourth volumes that Howell speaks of Madoc. He adds nothing to the preceding statements, with the exception of the extraordinary misconception, and flagrant misstatement, that the four lines just cited from Meredith ab Rees *were found upon the tombstone of Madoc in the West Indies*! A part of this misconception is due to the mistranscription of these lines, in which the verb *wyf*, 'I am,' of line 9 of our quotation (*ante*, p. 18) appears in line 5 instead of the adjective *wych*, 'bold,' thus making Madoc

speak in his own person; but the idea that the lines formed an epitaph appears for the first time in Howell's Letters; and the misconception existed in his mind as early as the year 1630, as appears from Vol. ii. Letter 56, p. 354 (4th edition, 1673), dated Westminster, August 9 of that year, and addressed to Earl Rivers, in which he writes thus:

'But, my Lord, you would think it strange, that divers pure *Welsh* words should be found in the new-found World in the *West Indies*. Yet it is verified by some Navigators; as *grando* (hark), *nef* (heaven), *lluynog* (a fox), *pengwyn* (a bird with a white head), with sundry others which are pure British. Nay, I have read a *Welsh* Epitaph, which was found there, upon one *Madoc*, a *British* Prince, who four years before the *Norman Conquest*, not agreeing with his brother, then Prince of *South* [rather North] *Wales*, went to try his fortunes at sea, imbarking himself at *Milford-Haven*, and so tarried on those coasts. This, if well proved, might well entitle our Crown to *America*, if first discovery may claim a right to any country.'

Mr. Humphreys Parry republished this letter in the *Cambro-Briton*, iii. 462, and suggested that Howell got the above account from Herbert; but the letter was written four years before Herbert published his travels; and it would probably be more correct to assume that Powel and Hakluyt were his authorities, and that Howell and Herbert wrote independently of each other.

Howell may or may not have been the originator of the epitaph story. I am inclined to think he was; and there are several loose assertions in the foregoing letter, which show that he did not take much pains to inform himself accurately respecting the details of the Madoc narrative. Herbert, it will have been observed, launches our hero, a North Wales prince from the little village of Abergwili in Carmarthenshire, probably from not knowing that a small place on the

sea, called Abergele, existed in Denbighshire. Howell, equally uninformed, has shaped the story to suit this misconception; Madoc, the son of Owen Gwynedd, becomes in his hands a brother to a prince of South Wales; he sails from Milford Haven, and is sent adrift before the Norman Conquest (i.e. 1066), some half-century before he was born probably, and more than a century before the usually assigned date, viz. 1170. But whether the misconception originated with Howell or some other person, it evidently had taken a strong hold of his mind, and we find him referring to it a second time. A relative having asked him for a copy of the epitaph, he replies in these terms:

'*To Howel Gwyn, Esq.*

'My much endeared Cosen,—I send you herewith according to your desires the *British* or *Welsh* Epitaph (for the *Saxons* gave us that *new name* calling us *Welshmen* or *Strangers* in our own countrey) which Epitaph was found in the *West Indies* upon Prince *Madoc* neer upon 600 years since.' Then follows a corrupt copy of the lines quoted by Herbert, and a translation in which Herbert's verse is improved, though professedly given as his:

Madoc ap Owen was I call'd,
Strong, tall, and comly, not inthrall'd
With home-bred pleasure, but for Fame,
Through Land and Sea I sought the same.[1]

He then remarks: 'This British Prince Madoc (as many

[1] This 'epitaph' seems also to have attracted the attention of Dr. Samuel Johnson, who gave it a Latin form:

'Inclytus hic Hæres magni requiescit Oëni
Confessus tantum mente modoque patrem.
Servilem talis Cultum contempsit Agelli,
Et petiit Terras per Freta longa Novas.'

Cited by Dr. Williams from *The Public Advertiser*, May 25, 1787 [*Enquiry*, p. 14].

authors make mention) made two voyages thither, and in the last left his bones there, upon which this epitaph lay'; and concludes his observations with the usual reference to *Cape Britain*, a promontory 'not far from Mexico,' 'a creek called *Gwyndwor*,' and 'the sign of the *Crosse*.'[1]

Fourteen years previously, Howell had thought it desirable to have the Cambrian tradition well proved; but here he speaks quite confidently.

Howell's Letters obtained much celebrity, and, as a natural consequence, the 'Epitaph' became an accredited fact. It was probably from him that it found its way into Hackett's Collection of Epitaphs; and the story is again referred to in the collection of Letters published in London in 1694, under the title of the 'Turkish Spy,' which we shall have occasion hereafter to notice in greater detail, and in which the writer represents the *Tuscaroras* or *Doeg* Indians to be the descendants of Madoc, adding that they 'show his Tomb *to this day*, with *Beads*, *Crucifixes*, and other *Reliques*.'[2]

Howell's authority, also, commended the story to the attention even of Welsh writers; and so, in 1716, we find it cited in 'Drych y Prif Oesoedd, or The Mirror of the Primitive Ages,' by the Rev. Theophilus Evans. Evans's work became the favourite manual of Welsh history, retained its place for a century, and has impressed the Madoc narrative so deeply upon the Kymric mind that it will probably not be effaced for a century to come, even though it should ultimately appear to have no foundation in fact. He bases his narrative upon the triple assertion that Madoc's voyage is recorded in 'the chronicles of the ages'; that the natives of America use the Kymric words named by Powel; and that the foregoing 'epitaph' was found upon Madoc's tomb in that country. He

[1] *Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ*, vol. iv. Letter 29, dated Oct. 8, 1654 (?).

[2] *The Turkish Spy* (London, 1694), vol. viii. Bk. iii. Letter xii. p. 204.

has been much blamed for the latter assertion by recent writers; but he gives as his authority 'Hoel. Ep. Vol. iv. Ep. 29, p. 474, Ed. 7,' namely, the foregoing letter, and is, therefore, not primarily responsible for the assertion; and in referring to 'the chronicles of the, or those, ages,' he was probably unconscious of the fact that the Welsh Chronicles have no record of Madoc's voyage, and that he only knew them in Llwyd's translation. He, however, adds to the preceding narrative, (1) that Madoc on the second voyage reached the port where he had landed before, in eight months and ten days; (2) that while that generation survived they remained together, having one language, one religion, and one law; (3) but that in the lapse of time, after two or three generations, they associated with the natives, and became one people with them, just as milk and water become mixed together.[1] He gives no authority for these statements, though they especially require to be well supported. The asserted absorption of the hypothetical descendants of Madoc may be only an expansion of Llwyd's remark; but the extraordinary length of a voyage now accomplished in nine days involves considerable difficulties, both nautical and alimentary; and the specific duration assigned to a voyage from which no one ever returned, and of which there could scarcely be any record, betrays the absence of critical discernment, and a remarkable unconsciousness of historical responsibility.

Another significant contribution to these testimonies is made by Dr. Williams. 'From various concurrent evidences it appears that *Madog was the Commander of his Father's Fleet*, which was so considerable as successfully to oppose that of England, at the mouth of the Menai (the channel between Carnarvonshire and the island of Anglesea), in the year 1142. This victory was celebrated by Gwalchmai, the son of Meilir,

[1] *Drych y Prif Oesoedd*, Spurrell's ed. 1854, p. 11.

in one of the most animated pieces of poetry to be found in any language.

'It is very probable that Madoc hesitated which side to take in the dispute between his brothers about the succession, and at last determined to join neither, but resolved to withdraw himself; and, being Commander-in-Chief of the Fleet, he was able without delay to leave his native country. These circumstances will help us to account for his speedy departure, for, by all that appears, he sailed within about a year after his father's death.'[1] Dr. Williams gives as his authorities Caradoc's 'History of Wales,' p. 163, 4th ed. 1697; and Evans's 'Specimens of the Welsh Bards,' p. 125 (*recte*, 25), ed. 1764. I have verified his references, but my copies of these works make no mention of Madoc, in any capacity, in connection with the battle of 1142; neither do they report it to have been a naval engagement.

The latest and only subsequent testimony of an historical form is that of the Rev. R. W. Morgan.

'On the death of Owen Gwynedd, his son Madoc, who had commanded his fleets, fitted out eight vessels and discovered America, A.D. 1160. He returned in 1164, and with a second fleet of eighteen vessels and three thousand of his countrymen, crossed the Atlantic and took possession of the throne and kingdom of Mexico. The family traditions of the Mexican royal family, when the Spaniards under Cortez invaded their country, clearly establish their extraction from Madoc and Britain.'[2]

It will be observed that this statement differs in several important points from any of the preceding; but I know of no authority for them, and Mr. Morgan gives none. Hence it is, I presume, to be inferred that he got the number of ships and men from his imagination, and that he conceives his own assertion to be historic evidence. In terming Madoc

[1] *Farther Observations*, p. 49. [2] *The British Kymry*, p. 166.

the commander of his father's fleet, he adopts the statement of Dr. Williams, that Madoc commanded at the battle of the Menai, for which there seems to be no real authority.

### *Section III.*—Travellers' Tales.

Having exhausted the list of historic statements, we come, in the next place, to an entirely different class of evidences.

The discovery of America by Columbus led to subsequent expeditions, and ultimately to various settlements, by the Spaniards, Dutch, English, and French. While Spain took possession of the Southern part, England claimed North America, from the discovery of the two Cabots in 1498; and various settlements were made there in the years 1578, 1607, 1620, 1630, 1632, 1663, and in 1680, in which year William Penn led a band of colonists to found Pennsylvania.

While these momentous events were taking place, the Madoc narrative was often uppermost in the minds of the natives of the Principality; and as the statements of Llwyd, Powel, Herbert, and Howell received implicit credence, Welshmen, persons favourable to the English claims of prior discovery, and even learned foreigners, were not indisposed to find confirmations of their narratives on the American continent itself.

The first indubitable fact of this kind was the discovery made in 1519, by Hernando Cortes, in a temple on the island of Acusamil or Cozumel, near the Gulf of Mexico. Here he was amazed by the sight of a cross, of stone and lime, about ten palms high.[1] This discovery suggested many conjectures to the unlettered soldiers; and European scholars, when the fact became known, made it the subject of frequent and learned discussions. The presence of a symbol supposed to be of Christian origin led to many speculations as to the character

[1] Prescott, *Hist. Mexico*, vol. i. p. 228.

of the American races; a further acquaintance with the ceremonies of the Mexicans deepened the impression; and learned men found among them traces of Baptism, the Trinity, the Lord's Supper, the Sabbath, and Hebrew Fasts.[1] Various interpretations were placed upon these coincidences; some thought they might have been introduced by the Chinese or Japanese, and others conceived that the Lost Tribes of Israel had found their way to America; but Humphrey Llwyd saw in them traces of Madoc ap Owen and his followers, and Dr. Williams drew the same inference.[2]

Other confirmations of the Cambrian narrative were conceived to be furnished in the State of Virginia, where it was believed that Madoc must have landed. 'The Virginians and Guatimalians, from ancient times, are said to have worshipped one Madoc as an hero.' This statement was made by Hornius, and professedly rested on the authority of Peter Martyr (Decade vii. c. 3), but I have not seen the original;[3] and as the forms given to the names among the Guatimalians, according to the same authority (Decade viii. c. 5), are *Matec Zungam* and *Mat Ingam*,[4] it is probable that these are the true forms of the Virginian name as well. Hornius held this to be a trace of the Kymric Madoc, and others have allowed his deduction.[5] Another writer identified Madoc 'and his wife,' of whom we now hear for the first time, with the *Manco Capac* and *Mamma Ocello* who figure in the traditions

[1] Hornius, *De Origin. American.* pp. 128, 278.

[2] *Enquiry*, p. 67.

[3] [The following is the passage referred to: 'Ad gelidas arctos & concretas niuibus regiones aiunt illas (scil. "animas post hanc vitam") proficisci, expiarique apud regem terrarum dominum nomine Matec Zunguæ.' (Dec. vii. cap. iii. *Hakluyt's edit. Paris*, 1587.)]

[4] [The form actually given by Peter Martyr is *Malingem*; e.g. 'Quid sit Malinges: . . . Malingem inuictum et potentem heroem appellant.' (Dec. viii. cap. 5, *Hakluyt's* edit.)]

[5] *De Origin. American.* Lib. iii. cap. 2, p. 136; quoted in Dr. Williams's *Enquiry*, p. 18.

of the Deluge among the Peruvians.[1] And other traces of Madoc's name were visible to the eyes of faith in the names of the Indian tribes, the Mactotatas, or Matocautes,[2] the Padoucas,[3] and the Mandans.[4] Evidences of a monumental character were also cited in the same connection; ancient wells, burial places, and encampments were found in the State of Kentucky, as well as ruined buildings and antique pottery;[5] and upon the assumption that they could not be Indian remains, and that the aborigines could not manufacture pottery, they were held to warrant the inference, not only that Madoc had discovered America, but that he had landed in Florida. Some of these statements represent actual facts, but others are affirmed to be geological rather than archæological;[6] and as to the validity of the inference, the reader must judge for himself.

The language of the American aborigines was also held to favour the Kymric tradition. Bishop Nicholson believed that the Welsh language formed a considerable part of several of the American tongues;[7] and the authority of a famous British antiquary[8] was erroneously quoted to show that the *Ll* of the Spaniards was received from the Welsh through the medium of the Mexicans.

Nor was this all. We have seen in the extracts from Powel, Herbert, Howell, and others, that Welsh words were said to be spoken in Mexico; and as the rocks, rivers, and

[1] John Williams, *Nat. Hist. Min. Kingdom*, vol. ii. p. 410, quoted in Dr. Williams's *Farther Observations*, p. 25.

[2] Iolo Morganwg, *Gent. Mag.* 1791, vol. ii. p. 613.

[3] W. Owen, *ibid.* vol. i. p. 329.

[4] Catlin's *Letters and Notes on the North American Indians*, vol. i. p. 206; vol. ii. p. 259.

[5] Filson, *State of Kentucky*, cited by Williams, *Farther Observations*, p. 8.

[6] Bancroft, *Hist. United States*, vol. ii. p. 919 (Routledge's edit.).

[7] Cited in *Univ. Hist.* vol. xx. p. 193.

[8] Llwyd, *Breviary of Britain*, p. 2.

animals of that country were thought to have British names, the question naturally arose, May not the descendants of Madoc and his followers still survive on the American continent?

This startling question soon received an affirmative reply. The views of Humphrey Llwyd, adopted and disseminated by Hakluyt, pointed to Florida and Virginia as the probable seat of the descendants of Madoc; and there traces of them were reported to have been found. A man named David Ingram, a Scotchman apparently,[1] if we may judge from the name, travelled for eleven months among the Indians settled between Mexico and Virginia, and reported that he had discovered Indians who spoke the Welsh language.[2] Other persons reported themselves to have made the same discovery A conversation on the subject of Madoc's emigration, and the presumed survival of descendants of his, took place at the house of Mr. Thomas Price, of Llanvyllin, between himself and his relatives, Thomas and Charles Lloyd of Dolobran, in the course of which the host related that one Stedman, about 1670, landed on the coast between Virginia and Florida, spoke to the Indians in their native language, and was informed by them that they had come 'from a country called *Gwynedd* in *Prydain Fawr*.' One Oliver Humphreys, also, told Charles Lloyd that he had conversed with Indians near Florida, and that their language was 'perfect Welsh.'[3]

The two Lloyds, as well as their cousin Price, influenced by the Cambrian History of Llwyd and Powel, and the reports of Stedman and Humphreys, were quite prepared to find descendants of Madoc's colony between Florida and Virginia; and their expectations were soon destined to receive confirmation. The two Lloyds of Dolobran, which is in the

[1] [See p. 34, *ante*.]

[2] Hakluyt, Pt. iii. p. 557 (1st edit. 1589).

[3] Letter of Charles Lloyd, see Appendix. The letter is dated Sept. 14, 1704, and Stedman's adventure took place thirty years before.

parish of Meivod, Montgomeryshire, had been educated at Oxford; and among their college friends was one Morgan Jones, a native of Basaleg or Maes Aleg, Monmouthshire. The latter became an Episcopalian, and accompanied a body of emigrants to America; but the two Lloyds became converts to the doctrines of Richard Davies, of Cloddiau Cochion in the same county, the first Welsh Quaker; and they suffered much for conscience sake in that age of bigoted intolerance. The 'esquire,' Charles Lloyd, built a meeting-house on his estate near Coed Cowryd, which was still standing in 1829; and both brothers naturally felt a keen interest in the colonial project of William Penn. Thomas Lloyd accompanied Penn to America; and, being held in great esteem, he in 1699 became the Governor of Pennsylvania, in which capacity he is honourably commemorated by the historian Bancroft.

It would seem that Thomas Lloyd settled in the first place at New York, and there, at his own house, he renewed his acquaintance with the Rev. Morgan Jones. Being acquainted with the Cambrian tradition respecting Madoc, and mindful of the conversation at Llanvyllin, this naturally formed the subject of conversation, when Jones related an adventure which befell him about the same time as that of Stedman. Lloyd desired him to put the narrative in writing, which Jones accordingly did, then and there; and to please his brother Charles, and his cousin Thomas Price, Lloyd sent the document to Wales addressed to the former.[1]

Two copies of Jones's narrative have appeared in print, one in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' March 1740, and the other in Owen's 'British Remains,' 1777 (pp. 103–106). Whether they are two different copies, or one a variation, is uncertain. They differ, however, in several respects. The latter contains several passages which are absent from the former, and

[1] Letter of Charles Lloyd.

differs from it in dating Jones's adventure in 1669 instead of 1660. It is also uncertain whether this variation was made by Owen to harmonise with a date given in the letter of the original copyist, Charles Lloyd. I incline to this supposition, and infer the date given by Jones to have been 1660; but Owen's transcript being the fullest, I have adopted that for a text, and have inserted the variations of the former as foot-notes. The transcript in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' was furnished by the Rev. Theophilus Evans, author of 'Drych y Prif Oesoedd.'

Jones's statement is here subjoined at length:

'These presents may certify all persons whatsoever, That in the year 1669 [a] I being then an inhabitant in Virginia, and chaplain to Major-General Bennett,[b] Sir William Berkeley sent two ships to [c] search the place which then was called Port Royal, but now South Carolina, which is 60 leagues to the southward of Cape Fair; and I was sent [d] thither with them to be their minister.

'Upon the 8th of April we set out from Virginia, and arrived at the harbour's mouth of Port Royal the 19th of the same month, where we waited for the rest of the fleet that was to come [e] from Barbadoes and Bermudas with one Mr. West, who was to be Deputy Governor of the said place. As soon as the fleet came in, the small vessels that were with us went [f] up the river to a place called [g] Oyster-Point,[h] for we durst not go up with the great ships because of the bar of sand that was before the harbour's mouth.

'After we were seated, I staid there between seven and eight months, till the 10th of November following; at which time,[i] being almost starved for want of provisions, I and five

[a] 1660. [b] Bennet of Mauseman County, the said Major Bennet and. [c] Port Royal, now called South Carolina. [d] therewith to be, &c. [e] sail. [f] sail'd [g] the Oyster Point. [h] The sentence ends with the word 'Point'; the remainder of it is omitted. [i] There I continued about eight months, all which time.

more took our flight from thence,[k] and travelled through the wilderness till we came to the Tuscarora[l] country, where[m] the Tuscarora[n] Indians took us prisoners, because we told them we were bound for Roanoke,[o] for they then had wars with the English at Roanoke; and[p] they carried us into their town that night, and shut us up in a house[q] by ourselves,[r] and the next day held a Macchcomoco[s] [1*] about us, which after it was over their interpreter came to us, and told us we must fit[t] ourselves to die next morning; whereupon, being something cast-down,[u] and speaking to this effect in the British tongue, "Have I escaped so many dangers, and must I now be knocked on the head like a dog?"[v] an Indian came to me, who afterwards appeared to be a war-captain belonging to the Sachin[w] of the Doegs (whose original I found[x] must needs be from the Welsh[y]), and took me up by the middle, and told me in the British tongue I should not die; and thereupon went to the Emperor of the Tuscaroras,[z] and agreed for my ransom and the men that were with me, and paid it the next day.[a] Afterwards they [2*] carried us to their town, and entertained us civilly for four months, and I did converse with them of many things in the British tongue,[b] and did preach to them three times a week in the British tongue,[c] and they would usually confer with me about any-

[k] The words 'took our flight from thence and' are absent. [l] Tuscarara. [m] There. [n] Tuscarara. [o] Roanok. [p] The clause [o] to [p] is absent. [q] 'close' instead of 'in a house.' [r] to our no small dread. [s] They enter'd into a consultation. [t] prepare. [u] very much dejected. [v] There presently an Indian. [w] Sachim. [x] find. [y] Old Britons. [z] Tuscorara. [a] The words 'and paid it the next day' are absent. [b] They then welcomed us to their town and entertained us very civilly four months, during which time I had the opportunity of conversing with them familiarly in the British language. [c] the same language.

[1*] Macocomocock is the name of a river in North Carolina: does this word also signify 'consultation'? (T.S.)

[2*] Who: the Tuscaroras or the Doegs? (T.S.)

thing that was difficult to them;[d] and when we came from them they shewed themselves very civil and courteous.[e]

'They are seated upon Pantigo [1*] river, not far from Cape Atros. This is a recital[f] of my travels among the Doeg Indians.[2*]

'MORGAN JONES,

'*New York*, the son of John Jones of Basleg,[g] near

'*March* 10, $168\frac{5}{6}$. Newport, in Monmouthshire.'[h]

Who further added, by way of postscript, that he was very ready to conduct any Welshmen, or others, that desired further satisfaction.[i]

This surprising narrative was transmitted by Charles Lloyd [1] to his cousin Edward Lhuyd, the philologist; it was published in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for March 1704, and again in 1740; it was given by Lhuyd to Dr. Plott, who read the substance of it before the Royal Society; it was embodied in the 'British Remains' [2] of the Rev. Nicholas Owen (1777);

[d] therein. [e] at our departure they abundantly supply'd us with whatever was necessary to our support and well-being. [f] brief recital. [g] Basaleg. [h] County of Monmouth. [i] P.S.—I am ready to conduct any Welshmen or others to the country.

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[1*] Charles Lloyd says this word 'hath a British sound'; and Dr. Williams interpreted it to mean the 'bridge of the blacksmith'—Pont y gov. Theophilus Evans made it signify 'the fair hollow'—Pant-Teg; and in 1740, having found there were no Welsh Indians on the river Pamlico (the proper form of the word), fixed the site of his Pant-Teg on the Missouri.

[2*] Charles Lloyd, in 1693, says that the Doegs 'in the new maps of the English Empire' are placed, not in Carolina, but in Virginia.

[1] The account of the connection of the Lloyds of Dolobran with the statement of the Rev. Morgan Jones is given on the authority of the late Rev. Walter Davies, *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine*, 1829; vol. i. pp. 440–1, and of the works undermentioned.

[2] '*British Remains*; or, a Collection of Antiquities relating to the Britons: Comprehending, . . . iv. *An account of the Discovery of America by the Welsh more than* 300 *Years before the Voyage of Columbus*. . . . By the Rev. N. Owen, Jun., A.M. London, 1777.'

Dr. Plott's paper is here republished by Owen; but it presents no features of interest.

and Dr. John Williams, of Sydenham, included it in his first essay on the Welsh Indians (1790), the 'Enquiry,' to which we have so often referred.[1]

By the time Dr. Williams published his essay, statements of this kind had become very numerous, and also divergent, if not contradictory; so that this writer found it necessary to include no less than five tribes, namely, the Doegs or Delawares, Tuscarores, another tribe left unnamed, the Padoucas, and the Pawnees, as Welsh Indians;[2] but the common opinion, at all events a few years afterwards, was, that the descendants of Madoc, or the Madogwys, were more especially the Padoucas.

The key-note having been thus struck, the Welsh Indians were found by many persons, and confirmations of the principal points of the preceding narrative were found in many forms and places.

There is thus a large mass of testimony bearing upon this subject; and it deserves consideration on grounds irrespective of its reference to Welsh Indians. If it be valid, it forms strong presumptive evidence of the truth of our native tradition; but if it be fictitious, it reveals an extraordinary amount of dishonesty and credulity, and deserves a prominent place in the history of popular delusions. I will therefore endeavour to classify it, in accordance with its leading points, accepting the statements as they stand, without instituting any inquiry as to their authenticity. The various testimonies may thus be conveniently grouped under the following heads:—

I. Belief in *Welsh* Indians.

II. Belief in *White* Indians.

III. Indian Traditions.

IV. *Welsh-speaking* Indians:—

[1] *An Enquiry &c., ut sup.*

[2] *Enquiry*, p. 50; *Farther Observations*, pp. 5, 7, 15, 20.

($\alpha$) Indirect evidence.

($\beta$) Direct statements.

V. Sacred Books.

VI. Topography; Archæology; and Civil Usages.

I. Belief in Welsh Indians.—A considerable number of persons living, or who had lived, in America, expressed their belief in the existence of Welsh Indians, but without assigning any reasons for their convictions. Among these were a Rev. Mr. Rankin, of Kentucky; Mr. William Prichard, a bookseller in Philadelphia; the Mr. Filson already named; the Rev. Morgan Jones, of Hammersmith, and a friend of his, the Rev. Morgan Edwards, of Pennsylvania; and Dr. Samuel Jones, of the same place, who at the age of fifty-five declared his resolution to visit the Welsh Indians as soon as their location should be determined.[1]

II. White Indians.—Several persons spoke of the existence of *White or Welsh* Indians; and many of them conceived the terms to be convertible; but others spoke of *White* Indians simply. A General Bowles knew Padoucas, or White Indians; a Mr. Rimington said *tolerably White* Indians were to be met with on the Mississippi, Forks of the Ohio, &c.; a Mr. Pond knew *White* Pawnees;[2] the Moravian missionaries, and the Rev. Morgan Rees, had heard of, and believed there were *White Indians*;[3] Lieutenant Ruxton speaks of Albinoes and a white tribe among the Pueblo and Navajo Indians;[4] General Clarke told Mr. Catlin that he would find the Mandans *half-white*; and Mr. Catlin says he found them to be lighter in complexion than other Indians.[5]

[1] Williams' *Farther Observations*, pp. 7, 8, 9, 43; *Gent. Mag.* Sept. 1791.

[2] *Farther Observations*, pp. 3, 16, 36.

[3] *Cambrian Register*, vol. i. pp. 377, 379.

[4] *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains* (London: 1849), p. 195.

[5] Catlin, *North American Indians*, vol. i. pp. 93, 94.

So far there is a unity of testimony; but there is a little discrepancy as to the colour of the hair. General Bowles said, some of the 'White Padoucas' had sandy, some *red*, and some [1] black hair; and Captain Stewart said the hair of the white Indians was mostly reddish; [2] but Mr. Catlin says that *red* hair is wholly unknown among the Indians; and that General Clarke received from the Minatarees the name 'Red Hair,' because that was an unexampled thing in their country.[3] Another witness, a brother of the Rev. Morgan Jones of Hammersmith, reports a friend of his to have seen 'copper-coloured' Indians, from the Arctic regions, with white bear skins, who conversed in Welsh with a Welshman at Mazores on the Ohio.[4]

III. Indian Traditions.—Montezuma is reported to have said, in a speech professing to have been found in Spanish in Mexico, that his race came from 'a far distant Northern nation, whose tongue and manners we yet have partly preserved;' and Dr. Williams thinks he referred to Britain.[5] Captain Stewart states that he found (in 1776) on the 'small river Post,' near the Red River (in Texas?) a white and mostly reddish-haired tribe; that a Welshman named John Davey, who accompanied him, said he understood their language—it being but little different from the Welsh; that Davey went with him to the chief men of the *town*; and that they informed Davey in a language unknown to him (Stewart), that their forefathers came from a foreign country, and landed on the east of the Mississippi, describing particularly the country now called Florida, and that on the Spaniards taking possession of Mexico, they fled to their then abode.[6]

[1] Williams, *Farther Observations*, p. 4.
[2] Williams, *Enquiry*, p. 47, from the *Public Advertiser*, Oct. 8, 1785.
[3] Catlin, *op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 94, 187.
[4] *Y Greal, neu Eurgrawn*, 1800, p. 16.
[5] *Farther Observations*, p. 33.
[6] Cited by Williams, *Enquiry*, pp. 47–48.

This tradition, it will be observed, rests on the authority of Davey; and it has the merit of being in harmony with the Cambrian tradition, which he may have known; but it represents the Indians to have committed the folly of taking alarm when the Spaniards were far to the South, and to have sought safety by flying *towards* them. Other reports coincide with the above. A Captain Drummond was informed by the only descendant of Montezuma then living, that his forefathers came from 'a distant land,' which that officer considered to be Britain;[1] and other Mexican chiefs, in negotiating with Sir John Hawkins, in the time of Elizabeth, are reported to have considered themselves to have been descended from Ancient Britons.[2] One Benjamin Sutton, as reported by a missionary named Beatty,[3] noticed that the Delaware women kept apart seven days from the males, at certain times, as prescribed in the Mosaic law; and learnt from some of the old men that they knew not for a certainty how they came to the American Continent, but they came to their habitations on the Delaware river under the following circumstances. A king of their nation left his kingdom to his two sons; that one made war upon the other; and that the defeated party resolved to seek a new habitation; that after wandering for forty years, he and his followers settled on that river, 370 years before Sutton's visit to them—a few years before 1766; and that they kept this account by placing a bead of wampum on a belt every year. Dr. Williams was doubtful whether this had reference to Madoc, or was a confused tradition of the wanderings of the Israelites in the wilderness. But a

[1] Williams, *Farther Observations*, p. 30.

[2] This is Dr. Williams' version, *Observations*, p. 33.

[3] *Journal of a Two Months' Tour with a view of Promoting Religion*, by Charles Beatty, A.M. London: 1768. Quoted by the Rev. George Burder in a pamphlet dated, London, 1787, and addressed to the Missionary Society; and also by Dr. Williams, in his *Enquiry*, p. 45.

letter written by Charles Lloyd, of Dolobran, furnishes far more positive evidence. The letter is dated '8*m.* 14*d.* $^{3}/_{4}$,' $170\frac{3}{4}$ or 1705; and in it he says, on the authority of a friend, that some thirty years before the date of this letter, i.e. in 1674 or 1675, one Stedman, a native of Breconshire, was off the coast of America, supposed by Mr. Lloyd to be between Virginia and Florida, in a Dutch vessel, when the natives refused to let them land to obtain water, but he, understanding their language, made the fact known, and the Indians then treated them courteously. They then informed him that they came from a country called *Gwynedd* (North Wales) in *Prydain Fawr* (Great Britain).[1] This is perfectly explicit; but Dr. Williams thinks the Indians could not have named 'Great Britain,' as that designation only prevailed after the accession of James I., in 1603; or else that they were descendants of a new colony, settled after the accession of the Stuarts; but his preference for this alternative was unreasonable, for Welshmen would scarcely sink down into Indians in half a century; and therefore he ought to have accepted Stedman's evidence as it stood.

Nor is this all; for a Mr. Binon, an Indian trader (of whom more hereafter),[2] is reported to have said that some Indians whom he visited not only affirmed that their ancestors came from Wales, though they knew not in what part of the world it was; but also that they had revived the relationship in America, and that 'thirty or forty of them sometimes visited the Ancient Britons settled on the Welsh Track in Pennsylvania.'[3] Again, in 1801, an Indian chief told Lieutenant Roberts that the traditions of his country referred the

[1] Inserted in Owen's *British Remains*, and cited in Williams' *Enquiry*, p. 34.

[2] *Post*, p. 60.

[3] Williams, *Farther Observations*, pp. 12, 13.

origin of his tribe to the *East*; but he had never heard of Wales, though he spoke Kymraeg.[1]

IV. Welsh-speaking Indians.—A considerable number of persons affirm that they had either spoken Welsh to Indians who spoke and understood that language, or that they had heard what they were told was Welsh spoken between Indians and Welshmen.

(*a*) *Indirect Evidence.*—To the latter class we must assign the evidence of the majority of the persons named in this connection.

1. Messrs. Beatty and Duffield, sent by the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, in 1766, to visit Pennsylvania and the Indians on that frontier, fell in with three persons, named Hicks, Joseph, and Sutton. Levi Hicks had been a captive with the Indians from his youth, and he informed these missionaries that when attending an embassy he had been in a town of Indians, on the west side of the Mississippi river, the inhabitants of which talked 'Welsh,' *as he was told*, for he did not understand them.[2]

2. The interpreter of the missionaries, by name Joseph, said he saw some Indians whom he supposed to be of the same tribe, who talked 'Welsh,' and he repeated some of their words, which 'he knew to be Welsh,' as he had been acquainted with some Welsh people.[3]

3. Benjamin Sutton saw some Indians on the west side of the Mississippi, a considerable distance above New Orleans, who were less tawny than other Indians, and who spoke Welsh. Sutton does not appear to have known Welsh himself, and this assertion seems to be an inference from what he afterwards heard and saw, in a town called the Lower Shawanaugh. Here there was a captive Welshman named Lewis, and Sutton

[1] *Y Greal* (1805), p. 228; see *post*, p. 61.
[2] Beatty, *op. cit.*, quoted in Williams' *Enquiry*, p. 42.
[3] *Ibid.*

heard some of those Trans-Mississippian Indians speaking Welsh to and with him.[1] One Richard Burnell, as reported by Edward Williams (*Iolo Morganwg*), knew 'this Mr. Lewis who saw those Welsh Indians at a Congress among the Chickasaws, with whom and the Natches they were in alliance.'[2] Here the whole force of the evidence seems to rest on an assumption that Lewis, being a Welshman, must have spoken Welsh. There is no direct proof that Lewis himself said that what he had spoken was Welsh, or that those he spoke to understood Kymraeg.

4. This Mr. Burnell went to America in 1763, and returned on the outbreak of the war in 1775. Many 'Ancient Britons' at Philadelphia informed him that the Welsh Indians were known to many in Pennsylvania; and he knew a very rich Quaker named Willin or Willain, who had placed settlers on a large extent of ground in the district of the Natches. He assured Mr. Burnell that among his colony were two Welshmen, who perfectly understood the Indians, and conversed with them for hours together; that these Welshmen had often assured him (Willin) that the Indians spoke the Welsh language, and that some of the Indians were settled in those parts, some on the west of the Mississippi in several places, and some in very remote parts.[3] Mr. Burnell had a son named 'Cradog' settled at Buck's Island, near Augusta, in the State of Georgia. He is said to have been a 'capital trader,' to have read and written Welsh well, and, in the judgment of the father, 'probably' knew more of these Welsh Indians than any man then living;[4] but 'probable' evidence is inadmissible.

5. Sir John Caldwell, Bart., an English officer serving in the American War, said he had some Welshmen in

[1] Beatty, *op. cit.*, quoted in Williams' *Enquiry*, p. 41.
[2] Williams, *Farther Observations*, p. 13.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 13.
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 14, 15.

his company. They knew the Panis or Pawnees, understood the language of those Indians, and affirmed it to be Welsh.[1]

6. Another officer (not named by Dr. Williams), who had been stationed at Illinois, said that an Indian nation called the *Mud* Indians, which came down the Missouri, spoke a guttural language, which some Welshmen in his regiment pronounced to be Welsh.[2] Mrs. Campbell,[3] in her 'Tales about Wales,' imputes this statement to a Captain Davies;[4] but as he was captain of a ship called the 'Albion,' from Trevdraeth, Pembroke, it is difficult to conceive that he was the person here alluded to.

7. A Mr. Gibson, a trader, told Mr. Kennedy, a gentleman who was in London in 1791, that he had been among Indians who spoke Welsh. This seems, at the first glance, to be positive and personal evidence; but he immediately adds that he had conversed at different times with very many others, who assured him that there was such a people;[5] and hence we are led to suspect that he did not himself understand Welsh. Hence, instead of *spoke*, we are to read *were said to speak* Welsh.

8. Filson, the historian of Kentucky, makes a similar statement, on the authority of an American captain. Writing in 1784, he says: 'Of late years the Western settlers have received frequent accounts of a nation at a great distance up the Missouri, in manner and appearance resembling other Indians, but speaking Welsh, and retaining some ceremonies

[1] Williams, *Farther Observations*, pp. 14, 15. [2] *Ibid.* p. 18.

[3] This lady, the widow of Captain Robert Campbell, cousin of the poet, published a very interesting little volume, entitled *Tales about Wales*, by a Lady of the Principality, in which the *Welsh Indians* find a place. A second issue was edited, in 1837, by Captain Basil Hall, and is that quoted here.

[4] Page 115.

[5] Williams, *Farther Observations*, p. 37.

of the Christian worship: and at length this is universally believed to be a fact. Captain Abraham Chaplain, of Kentucky, a gentleman whose veracity may be depended upon, assured me that in the late war, being with his company in garrison at Kaskaski, some Indians came there, and, speaking the Welsh language, were perfectly understood, and conversed with, by two Welshmen in his company; and that they informed them of their situation as mentioned above.'[1]

9. The Rev. Morgan Jones, of Pennsylvania, said that, about the year 1750, a friend of his had been visited by an Indian who knew a little Welsh, and who said he knew a nation a great way beyond the Mississippi, who spoke that language.[2]

10. Two Cherokee chiefs, General Bowles (by birth an Irishman) and a Mr. Price, when in London on a mission, made similar statements to Mr. Edward Williams. The general had a Welshman with him for some time, who had been a prisoner among the Spaniards, and had worked in the Mexican mines. Making his escape, he came among the Padoucas, and was able to converse with them.[3] This does not amount to an explicit statement that the Padoucas spoke Kymraeg; but the general understood the Welshman to say so. Mr. Price did not know Welsh, but said that his father did, and that the latter had often conversed with the Padoucas in that language.[4]

11. In all these cases, except perhaps in the case of Lewis, the names of the Welshmen are not given; but in that of Captain Stewart we have the name of John Davey. This is a Welsh name; and the statement of Stewart was doubtless made in good faith; and we have only one of two alternatives

[1] Cited in Williams' *Farther Observations*, p. 9, and Burder's pamphlet, p. 21.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 10.

[3] Williams, *Farther Observations*, p. 5.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 7.

to adopt, assuming that Davey was equally honest, viz. either that he deceived himself, or that the Indians really spoke Welsh; but the proof adduced by Davey, in the form of 'parchment' which he could not read, is not conclusive.[1]

12. The statement made by a Mr. Rimington, an English interpreter, seems equally circumstantial, but is not really so. He saw strange Indians at the forks of the Ohio; but on his saying that he did not understand them, a companion said: 'O! they are the Welsh Indians.' A Welshman named Jack Hughes being sent for, understood them well, and became their interpreter while they remained there.[2] This is not equivalent to a similar statement made by Jack Hughes himself.

($\beta$) We come now to our second division—that of *direct* statements.

1. The testimony of Stedman has been already given.[3]

2. An English privateer or pirate, while careening his vessel near Florida, learnt what he thought was an Indian language; but, coming in contact with Oliver Humphreys, a merchant at Surinam, the latter pronounced it to be Welsh.[4]

3. The statement of the Rev. Morgan Jones, of New York, has been already laid before the reader.[5]

4. A clergyman from Britain, supposed by Burder and Dr. Williams to be the same person as the Rev. Morgan Jones, was taken prisoner by the Indians, and sentenced to death; but on his praying in Welsh, they were surprised to hear their own language, released him from bondage, and

[1] Williams, *Enquiry*, p. 48; Burder, p. 31 [see *post*, p. 64].

[2] Williams, *Farther Observations*, p. 16; *Analectic Magazine* (Philadelphia), vol. ii. p. 410.

[3] *Ante*, p. 44.

[4] Reported by Charles Lloyd, Esq., published in Owen's *British Remains*, and cited by Dr. Williams, *Enquiry*, p. 34

[5] *Ante*, pp. 46-48.

treated him very kindly.[1] All these statements have reference to the Indians of Florida.

5. A similar statement was made by a Mr. Childs, an American gentleman, respecting a Welshman named Morris Griffiths, who, being a prisoner among the Shawnees, went with five young men of that tribe, about 1760, to explore the sources of the Missouri. Having ascended that river a very long way, they fell in with a race of White Indians, who, deeming them to be spies, resolved to put them to death; but Griffiths, overhearing their deliberations, and understanding their language, which was Welsh, spoke to them in that tongue; and thereupon he and his companions were released, and treated very courteously. After a stay of eight months, he returned to Roanoke.

This narrative also presents a striking resemblance to those of Mr. Jones and the nameless clergyman. Like them, Griffiths was taken prisoner, doomed to death, and released on speaking Welsh; like Mr. Jones, the hero of the tale, he had five companions; and, like Mr. Jones, he made for Roanoke.[2]

6. A statement to the same effect is made by Dr. Williams. 'In Glamorgan and Monmouthshire especially, there are now living several old people, who have often heard of these Welsh

[1] Beatty, *op. cit.*, Burder, p. 31, and Williams' *Enquiry*, p. 43.

[2] This narrative was written on the authority of Mr. Childs, who knew Griffiths, by Mr. Henry Toulmin, son of a Dr. Toulmin of Exeter, who, on leaving for America, promised to write if he heard of the Welsh Indians. It was published in two American papers, the *Kentucky Palladium*, Dec. 12, 1804, and the *Eastern Argus*, Feb. 8, 1805. From the latter it was republished in Nicholson's *Journal of Natural Philosophy*, vol. xii. p. 181, with additional remarks and conjectures by the editors; and in the *London Volunteer*, April 28, 1805; and was thence translated into Welsh. This Welsh translation was published in the *Greal*, 1805-6, republished in the *Iforydd* for April 1842; and again republished in 1859, in the *Ymofynydd* for January, and the *Brython* for March.

Indians, some who have actually been among them. Many, during the last hundred years, from those parts went to America, and becoming acquainted with some of those Welsh tribes, sent accounts of them to their friends in Wales.'[1] Our author, however, confines himself to these general terms; but one of the 'some,' and possibly the principal one, was, it is probable, the person to be named in the next paragraph.

7. About the year 1790, there lived at Coetty, in Glamorganshire, an eccentric old gentleman named Binon or Bindon, who is still (1858) remembered in the neighbourhood as a rigid vegetarian. He had left Wales very young, and remained away in America for upwards of thirty years. There he followed the occupation of an Indian trader from Philadelphia. Edward Williams (*Iolo Morganwg*) happening to be in his company, asked if he knew anything of the Welsh Indians; and Binon replied that about 1750, being one of a party of five or six traders, they penetrated much farther than usual into the remote parts of the Continent (westwards), far beyond the Mississippi, when, to their great surprise, they found a nation of Indians who spoke the Welsh tongue.[2] Another remark strengthened this statement; for not only did the Indians speak Welsh, but they also spoke it, said Mr. Binon,[3] 'with much greater purity than we speak it in Wales.' 'They gave Mr. Binon a very kind reception, but were very suspicious of his English companions, and took them for Spaniards or Frenchmen, with whom they seemed to be at war; but Mr. Binon soon removed their doubts, on which a friendly intercourse ensued.'[4] To mistake clean-

[1] Williams, *Farther Observations*, p. 19.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 11.

[3] Edward Williams, *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1791, vol. ii., p. 213. Dr. Williams omits this remark.

[4] *Ibid. op. cit.*; Burder, p. 17.

shaved Englishmen for bearded 'mounseers' and garlic-scented hidalgoes does not tally with what is commonly said of Indian penetration, and seems to indicate that Mr. Binon had heard or read of Morgan Jones's narrative, and was here using a current formula.

8. The same remark, as to the purity of the Indian Kymraeg, is made by another person, one Mr. or Lieutenant Joseph Roberts, a native of Flintshire; and as his letter is a curiosity, I insert it entire, leaving the reader to form his own judgment as to the veracity of the allegations therein made:—

'In the year 1801, when I was at Washington in America, I happened to be in a hotel smoking my pipe, according to the custom of the country; and there was a young lad (a native of Wales), a waiter in the house, who displeased me by bringing me a glass of brandy and warm water, instead of cold. I said to him jocosely, in Welsh, "*Mi dy lainiav di, myn d—l!*" (*i.e.* "I will thrash thee, *per diavolo!*").

'There happened to be at the time in the same room one of the secondary princes (*tywysogion iselradd*) of the Indians, who rose up hastily, and asked me in Kymraeg, extending his hand at the same time: "*Ai dyna dy iaith di?*" ("Is that thy language?") I, shaking hands, said it was; and the Prince said it was his language also, and the language of his father and mother, and also the language of his nation. "So," said I, "it is the language of my father, mother, and country also." Thereupon the Indian began to inquire whence I had come. I answered that it was from Cambria—(Kymru); but he had never heard a word of such a place (*sic*). I told him that Kymru was a principality in the kingdom called Lloegr (England). He had heard of Lloegr, and of the Saxons also; but he had never heard of Kymru. I asked him if there were any traditions among them, as to whence their ancestors had come, and he answered that there were, and that they came

from a far country, far in the East, and across the great waters.

'I conversed with him in Welsh and English. *He knew Kymraeg better than I did;* and at my request, he counted rapidly, in Kymraeg, a hundred or more. He knew English well also; because he traded so much with the Saxons of America. Among other things I asked him, how they came to retain their language so well from being mixed with the language of other Indians. He replied, that they had in their country a custom or law, forbidding any of them to teach any other language to their children, until they were fully twelve years old; but after that age they might learn any language they pleased.

'I asked him if he would like to go to Lloegr and Kymru. He replied that he had not the least inclination to leave his native country, and that he preferred living in a *wigwam*, that is, a cot, to a palace.

'He had ornamented his bare arms with bracelets, and on his head were ostrich feathers. I was astonished and startled greatly, when I saw and heard a man who had painted his face a yellowish red, and who appeared in such a form, *speaking the old Kymric language as freely and fluently* as if he had been born and bred among the rocks of Snowdon. His hair was shaved off, excepting around the crown of his head; but there it was somewhat long, and neatly plaited; and upon the crown he had placed the *ostrich* feathers, of which I have spoken, to adorn himself.

'The situation of these Indians is about 800 miles to the South-West of Philadelphia, said he;—and they are commonly called *Asquaws*, or the Asquaw nation.

'This prince loved my society greatly, seeing that we had sprung from the same race. He was accustomed to call upon me almost daily, and to take me to the woods to show me the virtues of the various leaves that grew there, and which were

best to cure various kinds of disease, because neither he nor his nation knew any other medicine.

JOSEPH ROBERTS,
formerly of Penardd Lâg (Hawarden), Flintshire.'[1]

This is tolerably stiff testimony, and may appropriately close this class of evidences. The editor of the *Greal*, in which the letter seems to have been first published, thought the *Asquaws* were a distinct tribe, and but few in number, as compared with the main body about the sources of the Missouri.

The purity of Indian Kymraeg is mentioned by Dr. Richards of Lynn, Norfolk, on the authority of a Kentucky correspondent.[2]

In conclusion, I might also add the statement of an anonymous writer, who professes to have the authority of Mr. John T. Roberts, who went to St. Louis in 1819 in search of Welsh Indians, that while this gentleman was at that town he heard an American who was filling him a cask of whiskey use two Welsh words, viz., *digon*, for 'enough,' and *neisiau*, for 'wanting;' and that, on being asked if he knew they were Welsh, the American said he did not, but that they were used in these senses by the Cherokee Indians. But as this is at variance with Mr. Roberts's own statements, the assertion may be thought to want authority.[3]

V. SACRED BOOKS.—A considerable number of persons

[1] This was written from Roberts's dictation to a number of Kymry in London, in 1805, and signed by him. It was then published in the *Greal*, a Welsh magazine, 1805 6, p. 228. My translation differs a little from the version given by Mrs. Campbell, *Tales about Wales*, pp. 112–114, which she had from Dr. Pughe. See also *Seren Gomer*, 1819, p. 5.

[2] 'A Welchman, that was in the camp, could talk with them; but they exceeded him, as not being so corrupt in their language.'—*Gent. Mag.*, June 1791.

[3] *Cambro-Briton*, iii. p. 435.

speak with more or less distinctness of Sacred Books said to have been preserved among the Welsh Indians. John Davey, to convince Captain Stewart that the Indians he saw were Welsh, brought forth rolls of parchment, which were carefully tied up in otter skins, on which were large characters written with blue ink. 'The characters,' says the Captain, 'I did not understand; and the Welshman being unacquainted with letters, even of his own language, I was not able to know the meaning of the writing.'[1]

2. General Bowles' Welsh informant gave fuller testimony. 'The Padoucas,' he says, 'had several books, which were religiously preserved in skins, and were considered by them as mysteries. These they believed gave an account of their origin. They had not seen a white man like themselves, who was a stranger, for a long time.'[2]

3. This belief becomes a certainty in the evidence of another witness, who says that about 40° N. latitude, and 45° (of Philadelphia, or 115° Greenwich) W. longitude, there was a tribe of Americans, said to possess curious MSS. about an island called *Brydon*, whence their ancestors came. Their language resembles the Welsh; their religion is a compound of Christianity and Druidism; they know the use of letters, and are fond of music and poetry. They call themselves *Brydones*, and are generally believed to be the descendants of some wandering Britons, who were expelled from hence about the time of the Saxons, and were carried by wind and current to the great western continent, into the heart of which they have been driven by the successive encroachments of modern settlers.[3]

[1] *Public Advertiser*, Oct. 8, 1785. Mr. Burder thinks the MS. may have been a *Greek* Bible. Williams's *Enquiry*, p. 48.

[2] *Gent. Mag.* 1791, vol. i. p. 397; Williams' *Farther Observations*, p. 5; *Burder*, p. 9.

[3] *Gentleman's Magazine*, Oct. 1828. The original has simply 45° W. longitude;' and Mr. Woodward (*History of Wales*, p. 331,

4. Mr. Binon speaks to a similar effect. The Indians he visited showed him a book in manuscript, which they carefully kept, believing it to contain the mysteries of religion. They told him that it was not long since a man had been among them who understood it. This man, whom they esteemed a prophet, told them that a people would some time visit them, and explain the mysteries of the book, which would make them completely happy. They very anxiously asked Mr. Binon if he understood it; and, being answered in the negative, appeared very sad, and earnestly desired him to send one to them who could explain it.[1] There is a little discrepancy between this statement and that of General Bowles; but perhaps the next paragraph may furnish an explanation.

5. Sutton, Mr. Beatty's informant, saw a book among the Indians, carefully wrapped in skins, which he supposed to be a Bible. The clergyman mentioned by Mr. Beatty is reported to have spoken more explicitly. He was shown a book, which he found to be a Bible, but which they could not read; 'and if I mistake not,' says the missionary, 'my ability to read it tended to raise their regard for me.'[2] Dr. Williams says it were to be wished that this book, or a copy of it, could be procured; but if this gentleman be identified with the Rev. Morgan Jones, it must be observed that the silence of the latter raises a difficulty as to the existence of the book; and another difficulty arises from the evidence of the next witness.

*note*) thinks this should be 115°. It is probable that the longitude from Philadelphia was intended; for Mr. Thomas Roberts (*Greal*, 1805, p. 40) locates the Welsh Indians at the sources of the Missouri, between 40° and 44° N. latitude, and in longitude 105° or 110° W. of London, or between 45° and 50° W. of Philadelphia.

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1791, vol. ii. p. 613; Burder, p. 17; Williams, *Farther Observations*, p. 11.

[2] Beatty, p. 24; Burder, p. 24; Williams, *Enquiry*, p. 43.

6. A gentleman who signed himself 'J. J., Cheapside, January 28, 1792,' and who had lived upwards of twenty years at New Orleans and on the banks of the Mississippi, believed in the existence of 'Welch or White Indians,' having been often assured of the fact by traders who had no inducement to speak untruth on this head. He knew an Illinois merchant who said there was not the smallest doubt as to their being 'white-bearded Indians,' as they were called by the French, and that they consisted of thirty-two villages or towns; and he was a near relation of a Mr. Chisholm, who had been in their country, which was a thousand miles from Illinois. When Mr. Chisholm was introduced to the chief of the Padouca nation, he was received with much solemnity, owing to his being of white complexion, and being deemed, as he thought, an angel of God. His hands and feet were washed, by order of the chieftain, who appeared much advanced in years, his hair being long and perfectly white.[1] And this aged man, who, with his two sons, had been in captivity among the Cherokees, had in his possession an old manuscript on vellum, very dingy, which appeared to be *an old Romish missal*. Mr. Chisholm wished to take it to Philadelphia for the purpose of finding someone who could read it; but the old man would not let it go out of his hands, for he preserved it as a precious relic.[2]

7. The silence of the Rev. Morgan Jones, and the discrepant testimony of Mr. Chisholm, might be thought unfavourable to the 'Bible' story; but it is supported by other persons. Captain Davies, already mentioned,[3] says that the *Mud* Indians, so called because they only descended the Missouri when it was flooded, and whom he heard conversing

[1] Griffith Williams in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1792, vol. ii. p. 597.

[2] Mrs. Campbell, *Tales about Wales*, p. 116; on the authority of the MSS. of Dr. W. Owen Pughe.

[3] *Ante*, p. 56.

in Welsh with Welshmen on the Illinois, had among them *a manuscript Welsh* Bible.[1]

8. A letter dated 'Winchester (America?), August 24, 1753,' written by a Mr. or Colonel Crochan or Cochran, and addressed to Mr. Dinwiddie, Governor of Virginia, may be cited to the same effect.

This letter has a prominent place among the evidences in favour of the Welsh Indians. The original is supposed to lie at the British Museum; but whether it does so or not, I do not know. Copies of it, however, were repeatedly taken. A copy was made by Dr. Morton, of the British Museum, at the request of Mr. Maurice Morgan, Under-Secretary of State, for the inspection of Lord Shelburne, when Colonial Secretary in Rockingham's Administration in 1763–5. Another copy, dated March 27, 1766, occurs among the papers of the Rev. Evan Evans (*Ieuan Brydydd Hir*), having been taken by Dr. James Phillips, Rector of Llangoedmor, Cardiganshire, for a Dr. Worthington. And another copy—how obtained does not appear—was supplied by the Rev. W. Richards, of Lynn, to Mr. William Owen, who published it in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for June 1791. The letter is here given in full:

'Winchester: August 24, 1753.

'May it please your Honour,—Last year I understood, by Col. Lomax, that your Honour would be glad to have some information of a nation of people settled to the West, on a large river that runs to the Pacific Ocean, commonly called the Welch Indians. As I had an opportunity of gathering some account of those people, I make bold, at the instance of Col. Cressup, to send you the following accounts. As I formerly had an opportunity of being acquainted with several French traders, and particularly with one that was

[1] Williams, *Farther Observations*, p. 18. Mrs. Campbell (p. 115) gives the Captain's evidence without any reference to this MS.

bred up from his infancy amongst the Western Indians, on the west side of the Lake Erie, he informed me that the first intelligence the French had of them was by some Indians settled at the back of New Spain, who, in their way home, happened to lose themselves and fell down upon this settlement of people, whom they took to be French, by their talking very quick; so, on their return to Canada, they informed the Governor that there was a large settlement of French on a river that ran to the sun's setting; that they were no Indians, although they lived within themselves as Indians, for they could not perceive that they traded with any people, or had any trade to sea, for they had no boats or ships as they could see; and though they had guns amongst them, yet they were so old and so much out of order, that they made no use of them, but hunted with their bows for the support of their families.

'On this account the Governor of Canada determined to send a party to discover whether they were French or not, and had 300 men raised for that purpose. But when they were ready to go, the Indians would not go with them, but told the Governor that if he sent but a few men, they would go and show them the country; on which the Governor sent three young priests, who dressed themselves in Indian dresses, and went with those Indians to the place where those people were settled, and found them to be Welch. They brought some *old Welsh Bibles* to satisfy the Governor that they were there; and they told the Governor that these people had a great aversion to the French; for they found by them that they had been settled at the mouth of the river Mississippi, but had been almost cut off by the French there. So that a small remnant of them escaped back to where they were then settled, but had since become a numerous people. The Governor of Canada, on this account, determined to raise an army of French Indians to go and cut them off; but as the

French have been embarrassed in war with several other nations nearer home, I believe they have laid that project aside. The man who furnished me with this account told me that the messengers who went to make this discovery were gone sixteen months before they returned to Canada, so that those people must live at a great distance from thence to the West.

'This is the most particular account I ever could get of those people as yet.

'I am, your Honour's

'Most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) 'GEORGE CHROCHAN.'[1]

A postscript states further that 'Governor Dinwiddie agreed with three or four of the back traders to go in quest of the Welsh Indians, and promised to give them 500*l.* *for that purpose*; but he was recalled before they could set out on that expedition.'

This completes the evidence in favour of the sacred books, and is now left to the consideration of the reader.

VI. TOPOGRAPHY, ARCHÆOLOGY, AND CIVIL USAGES.—Another class of evidences used in this connection consists of the topography and archæology of Aboriginal America, and of the arts said to be known to the *White* or *Welsh* Indians, who, whether rightly or wrongly, are assumed very generally to be identical.

1. *Topography.*—'It is observable,' says Dr. Williams, 'that the names of Indian tribes, and of places in those parts occupied by Welsh Indians, very much resemble, and seem derived from, the ancient British.'[2] But he does not give any examples.

2. *Archæology.*—Filson, the Rev. Mr. Rankin, and another

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, June 1791; Burder, p. 11; Williams, *Farther Observations*, p. 22.

[2] *Farther Observations*, p. 19.

clergyman speak of wells, ruins, abundance of nice earthenware, millstones, and fortifications found in Kentucky, and attributed by them to the Welsh Indians.

Another gentleman, the Rev. Morgan Rees, of Philadelphia, in a letter remarkable for its good sense, repeats these statements, but does not advance any special theory to account for them. 'Every part of this continent,' he says, 'affords sufficient proofs of a more civilised people having existed here than the present Indians.' He then promises 'a description of the ancient fortifications, mounds, barrows, graves, and the curiosities found in them, on the Ohio and other places.' 'I have seen,' he says, 'some of the finest crystallising glass, some sheets of copper, with stones polished in very great perfection, taken lately out of a grave at Cincinnati, on the Ohio. I have likewise seen the ruins of an old fort, part of it fallen into the same river, the mortar being exactly of the same quality with that of the old castles of Wales. Several other articles I have seen, which prove to demonstration that the arts were either cultivated in the country, or else the people must have been a regular importation from other countries.'[1]

Mr. Catlin also mentions these mounds, and other remains, and argues, with much apparent reason, from their resemblance to Mandan fortifications, arts, and usages, that they prove that tribe or people to have ascended the Ohio and Missouri rivers. If, as he thinks, the Mandans were the Madogwys, these remains connect themselves with the Welsh tradition; but this is, of course, a point that requires to be proved.

Mr. Binon, however, positively connects such remains with our Cambrian Prince. The Indians he visited had iron amongst them, lived in stone-built villages, and were better

[1] *Cambrian Register*, vol. i. p. 380.

clothed than other tribes. There were some ruinous buildings amongst them; one appeared like an old Welsh castle, and another like a ruined church.[1] He is, moreover, reported to have said that 'he considered the Padoucas to be the original inhabitants of the spot where he found them, and that they showed him a stone on which there was an inscription, which they kept in honour of one Madog!'[2]

3. *Civil Usages.*—Several other writers speak of a distinctive civilisation among the *White* Indians, and assume *White* and *Welsh* to be convertible terms. Sir John Caldwell and Mr. Remington said the Pawnees, called White and Welsh, were considerably civilised, cultivated the ground, built houses, and had implements of fine copper. Mr. Gibson said the civilisation of the Welsh Indians was a matter of astonishment to the traders in general. Baron La Houtan, Charlevoix, Bossu, and Cox spoke of highly civilised Indians, on the borders of a great salt lake, beyond the Rocky Mountains, who wore good clothes, lived in villages built with white stones, and navigated the lake in great piraguas; and Mr. Edward Williams, widening the area of the Welsh Indians, includes these Matocantes and Mactotatas, with the Padoucas, Panes, and Kansez, under that general designation.[3]

'J. J.'s' friend said the white-bearded Indians were vastly attached to certain religious ceremonies;[4] Sutton made the same remark respecting the Delawares; Ruxton of the Moquis; and Mr. Catlin of the Mandans.[5]

[1] Mr. Edward Williams, in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1791, vol. ii. p. 613.

[2] The same authority, in Williams's *Farther Observations*, p. 21. This statement does not occur in the *Gentleman's Magazine, loc. cit.*

[3] Williams, *Farther Observations*, pp. 15, 21, 38.

[4] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1792, vol. ii. p. 597.

[5] *Letters and Notes on the North American Indians*, vol. i. p. 156.

We have, therefore, an abundance of testimony respecting the Welsh Indians; but it lacks definiteness and consistency; so that, after all, there has been much uncertainty as to who the Welsh Indians really were, even among those who believed in their existence. While Dr. Williams identified the descendants of Madoc with the Delawares, Tuscarores, and a third tribe, others discovered the Madogwys in the Doegs, Matocantes, and Mud Indians;[1] Dr. Owen Pughe made choice of the Padoucas,[2] whose name was conjectured to be a form of *Madawg*;[3] while others claimed the Pawnees, Kansez, Asquaws, the Hietans or Aliatans, and the Cherokees;[4] and latterly Lieutenant Ruxton affirmed them to be the Moquis;[5] while Mr. Catlin identified them with the Mandans, and has found favour with Cambrian critics in so doing.[6]

Thus pretty nearly the whole of America, from Canada to Cuba, or even Peru, has been at various times claimed as the local habitation of the Madogwys: they have been found, generally speaking, everywhere on the new continent, east, south, and west; but, unfortunately, none of the indications have been sufficiently specific; everywhere has proved to be another form of nowhere; and it still remains for future inquirers to determine the true name and precise locality of the Welsh Indians, while many deny that they exist anywhere.

I have, therefore, to suggest for the consideration of the reader, assuming the substantial veracity of the less suspicious testimonies here cited:

[1] Woodward's *History of Wales*, p. 333: Mr. Edward Williams (*Iolo Morganwg*) cited in Williams's *Farther Observations*, p. 21.

[2] *Cambrian Biography*, art. 'Madog ab Owen Gwynedd.'

[3] *Cambro-Briton*, vol. iii. p. 372.

[4] *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 435.

[5] *Adventures in Mexico*, p. 195.

[6] Williams's *Eminent Welshmen*, art. 'Madog,' p. 310.

1. Whether the origin of the arts, monuments, books, ceremonies, and languages of the white or half-white Indians may not admit of explanation upon some other hypothesis.

2. And, if so, whether there are sufficient reasons for assigning the preference to the 'Welsh Indian' views of Cambrian writers.

## CHAPTER II.

### IMPRESSIONS PRODUCED BY THESE FACTS AND STATEMENTS UPON THE MINDS OF HISTORICAL WRITERS.

I HAVE now laid open a full and, it is hoped, fair statement of the three classes of testimonies usually brought to bear upon this question; and it is more than probable that the reader has come to some positive conclusion. Nevertheless, it is just possible that all minds may not be affected alike, and that some men may think that this testimony amounts to an incontrovertible demonstration, while others may think the evidence loose, incoherent, and insufficient. Some may consider it to be in some cases irrelevant, and in others false; while others may hold it to be trustworthy and coherent in all its parts.

At all events, we know that this has been the case already; and, as the minds of men are very differently constituted and very differently furnished, this may also take place hereafter. It will, therefore, in my judgment, be wise to study the impressions produced upon the minds of others, many of them the greatest luminaries in Cambrian literature, before we finally resolve the matter for ourselves.

### *Section I.*—THE AFFIRMATIVE VIEW.

1. Most of the older writers held the discovery of Madoc to be a demonstrated fact, and took firmly and unhesitatingly what we shall call the affirmative side.

It will be unnecessary to repeat the words of Humphrey Llwyd and Dr. Powel.

Hakluyt and Purchas accepted their statements and views, and Hakluyt also introduced a variation, that Madoc made not only one voyage according to the Triad, or two according to Llwyd and Powel, but three voyages—a statement, however, supported by no authority.

Dr. John Davies, of Mallwyd, accepted the affirmative view.[1]

Of the older writers, James Howell is the only one who speaks doubtfully. His words are: 'if well proved;' but Herbert, his contemporary, felt no hesitation; and he emphatically affirms that Madoc discovered America; and that, had it been inherited, the Kings of England would not have been defrauded of their title to the new continent.

Enderbie ('Cambria Triumphans,' London, 1661) accepted the Cambrian narrative.

The Rev. Charles Edwards, author of 'Hanes y Ffydd,' or 'History of the Christian Faith,' also took the same side. His work was first published in 1671; and therein he adopts the statements of Llwyd and Powel.

The Rev. Theophilus Evans, author of the very popular little History of Wales, already referred to, called 'Drych y Prif Oesoedd,' first published in 1716, repeated the usual statements, and gave currency in Welsh to James Howell's blunder respecting the inscription said to have been found on Madoc's tombstone. In the preface to a second edition he embodied the narrative of Morgan Jones.

Emanuel Bowen, 'Geographer to his Majesty,' in a geography published in 1747, also accepted the Welsh tradition as historic truth.

The next writers were the compilers of the 'Universal

[1] *Antiquæ Linguæ Britannicæ Rudimenta* (London, 1621), Preface, p. 10, *note*.

History.' One of these held the discovery to have been real; but another scouted it as an absurdity.[1]

The Rev. Nicholas Owen, jun., was a firm believer in the truth of this tradition, and embodied in his 'British Remains' the letter of Morgan Jones; the letter of Charles Lloyd of Dolobran to his cousin, dated, Quaker fashion, '8m. 14 day, $\frac{3}{4}$;' and a copy of Dr. Plott's account of 'an ancient discovery of America from Wales.' Owen's work appeared in 1777; thirteen years afterwards, Dr. Williams published his 'Enquiry'; and two years later (1792) his second work, on the same subject, to which we have so often referred, under the title of 'Farther Observations on the Discovery of America &c.' He also was a firm believer in the Cambrian tradition.

Dr. Campbell, author of the 'Naval History,' gave credence to the statement; M. Buache, a Frenchman, takes the same side, in the 'Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Paris' for 1784; Dr. Cotton Mather advocated it warmly in his 'Magnalia Christi Americana'; and the Rev. George Burder, in 1797, collected the evidences in a pamphlet addressed to the Missionary Society of London, and urgently desiring them to send missionaries to the Welsh Indians.

But, probably, the most sanguine man of that day was Edward Williams, better known as Iolo Morganwg. In common with many of the vigorous thinkers and outspoken men of that day, he looked upon America as the land of liberty, and entertained serious thoughts of emigrating thither. He has, accordingly, introduced the subject into his 'Poems, Lyric and Pastoral,' in two places (vol. ii. pp. 64 and 186); and in the former he has published a long note, making the usual statements, but with some variations, which will be noticed hereafter. He gave implicit credence to the statement respecting the Welsh Indians; said there were then living, in Wales and America, Welshmen who had conversed with these

[1] Modern Part, vol. xxxviii. p. 5.

people; and fixed their locality on the river Missouri, about five hundred miles above its junction with the Mississippi. But the intensity of his belief will perhaps be best represented in his own verse:

Boast, CAMBRIA, boast thy sceptred Lord,—
'Twas HE, thy MADOC, first explor'd,
What bounds the Atlantic tide;
He, from the tumults of a Crown,
Sought shelter in a *world unknown*,
With Heav'n his only guide.

He soon, with joyful tale, return'd
To CAMBRIAN hills, where thousands mourn'd,
Scourg'd by fell Discord's hand;
Now, loos'd from HELL, she there appear'd,
With brother's blood her front besmear'd,
She triumph'd in the Land.

At LUNDY'S Isle what numbers meet;
All throng with joy to MADOC'S fleet,
That first subdu'd the main;
They quit the gory sod of WALES,
Proud SNOWDON'S height, Silurian vales,
And MONA'S ravag'd plain.

Fled from Contention's ireful crew,
To native cots they bid adieu,
Returning there no more;
But, through rude storms at endless war,
With PROVIDENCE their friendly star,
They seek the peaceful shore.

We heard of late astonish'd Fame
Declare that still our MADOC'S name
Bids Glory's trump resound,
Where still, amid the desert wild,
A free-born race, of manners mild,
Old *British* tribes are found.

I thither fly with anxious haste,
Will brave all dangers of the waste,
Range 'tangled woods about;
Pierce ev'ry corner, like the wind,
Till Death forbids, or surely find
My long-lost brethren out.

I'll teach them all the truth I know,
To them extol the lively glow
Of soul-refining grace;
And, heedless there of worldly gains,
Will glide through life with these remains
Of BRITAIN's injur'd race.

Haste! and forsake your meagre hills,
Their woful rounds Oppression fills,
O! think of no delays;
Where *Madoc's* offspring still abides,
Or in the Land where PENN presides,
Will end our tranquil days.

Adieu, GLAMORGAN, from whose vales
I'm driven far through stormy gales,
O'er foamy billows wide;
May'st thou, though fiends afflict thee sore,
Still thy *forbidden* GOD adore,
Whatever ills betide.[1]

Fortunately for the interests of Welsh literature, the bard thought better of his project; circumstances occurred, after 1794, the date of the Lyric Poems, to lessen the value of the tales told of the Welsh Indians; but the bard, so far as I am aware, never ceased to uphold what had then become a national tradition.

His contemporary, the Rev. Dr. William Richards of Lynn, a man much respected in his day, was also a warm advocate of the affirmative. He supplied Mr. William Owen with several letters from friends of his in America, and himself drew up a concise statement of the evidences for the 'Gentleman's Magazine' in October 1789.

Dr. Owen Pughe, then plain William Owen, shared the enthusiasm of the old Bard of Glamorgan, and sympathised heartily with his sensitive and excitable feelings. The 'Gentleman's Magazine,' at the close of the last century, was often made the vehicle to convey news of the Welsh Indians;[2]

[1] *Poems, Lyric and Pastoral*, vol. ii. p. 64.

[2] Vol. lxi. Part i. pp. 329, 386, 534; and also Part ii. pp. 612, 693, 795, 800.

and in the year 1791 the names of both these ardent patriots appear in that magazine, united in a defence of the presumed existence of these Indians, who were then, and thenceforth, usually called by the new name of Madogians or Madogwys. In the 'Cambrian Register,' which he edited, for the year 1795, he said that two persons (himself and Iolo?) had been engaged five years previously in collecting accounts of the Welsh Indians; that they had brought together the accounts of twenty different persons, which agreed exactly with each other; that other accounts were continually flowing in; that a young man named John Evans had gone over to America, in 1793, to discover the Madogwys, though the result of his enterprise was unknown; and he submitted two documents as the most interesting of the recent additions.[1]

The two documents consist (1) of questions and answers respecting White Indians and Welsh Indians, from the Moravian missionaries in America to their brethren in England; and (2) a letter dated November 24, 1795, 'from the Rev. Morgan Rees, then resident in Philadelphia.' The documents are interesting, and both clearly prove the existence of 'White Indians' on the Missouri; but the first stops short of proving, except at third hand, that these 'White Indians' were also *Welsh* Indians; and the second appears to me to be evidence to the contrary. Further on, in the same volume, Owen affirms the departure of Madoc and Riryd, in 1172, to a land discovered far to the westward by Madoc in a former voyage in 1170, and cites in support of the statement the passage about the 'two princes,' in the poem of Prydydd y Moch.[2] In the 'Cambrian Biography,' published in 1803, we find him again affirming the same views in these terms:

'I have collected a multitude of evidences, in conjunction with Edward Williams, the bard, to prove that Madog must have reached the American continent, for the descendants of

[1] *Cambrian Register*, vol. i. p. 377 *et seq.*

[2] *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 412, 413.

him and his followers exist there as a nation to this day; and the present position of which is on the southern branches of the Missouri river, under the appellations of Padoucas, White Indians, Civilised Indians, and Welsh Indians.'[1] Again, in 1805–6, he, as editor of the 'Greal,' published several letters affirming and advocating the affirmative conclusion, which, it would seem, he retained to his dying day.

Most of the bards and minor *literati* of the day naturally followed in the wake of Iolo and William Owen. Dafydd Ddu Eryri deserves special mention, as in a note to his 'Awdl ar Wirionedd' (Ode to Truth) he assumes the existence of the Madogwys, and makes this fine reflection:

'A remarkable Providence appears in the migration of this stock, deserving of our respect and reverence, when we reflect that a host of our fellow-countrymen disappeared from us so long ago, and in the ninth age of the world, and that we now have a trace of them, as a numerous and increasing nation, in the centre of a far-distant land!'[2]

The idea is striking, and to the assumed facts appropriate; but it yet remains to be seen whether the assumptions of that day have stood the test of subsequent inquiry.

A pamphlet published about the year 1798, under the title 'The Tower of Babel, or Essays on the Confusion of Tongues, by John Jones, Member of Eminent Societies at Home and Abroad,' professes to contain 'fresh evidence concerning the first discovery of America by a Prince of Wales in the twelfth century.'[3]

Important events were taking place in the meantime. The sources of the Missouri were explored; the Padoucas turned out to have no resemblance to *Welsh* Indians; faith in

[1] *Cambrian Biography*, art. 'Madog, son of Owen Gwynedd,' p. 233.

[2] *Y Cylchgrawn Cymraeg* (Trefecca, 1793), p. 54.

[3] *Notes and Queries* (Jan. 12, 1867), p. 33.

the Cambrian story became considerably shaken; suspicions attached themselves to the 'travellers' tales'; and various symptoms of doubt, affecting the whole narrative, began to make their appearance.

A slight trace of scepticism is observable in the language of the Rev. W. Warrington, who published his 'History of Wales' about this time. In the main, however, he lent his sanction to the tradition, though not without reserve. He stated in his text, not that Madoc had sailed, but that he 'is said' to have done so; and in a note he adds: 'We know nothing of the reality of this discovery, but what is gathered from the poems of Meredydd ab Rhys, who flourished in the year 1470, Guttyn Owain in 1480, and Cynfrig ap Gronw, near the same period. These bards preceded the expedition of Columbus, and relate or allude to that of Madoc as an event well known, and universally received, to have happened three hundred years before.'[1] Warrington makes this last remark on the authority of Edward Jones, author of the 'Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards'; and we may take this opportunity to remark that Mr. Jones also was an affirmer of the truth of the Madoc story.

The tale—

> How Madoc from the shores of Britain spread
> The adventurous sail ——

was ushered into the literary world, in two quarto volumes of poetry; and the upholders of this tradition had the triumphant satisfaction of seeing it adorned by the genius, and sanctioned by the authority, and enshrined in the verse of Robert Southey. He was the friend of Iolo Morganwg and William Owen; and, convinced by their reasonings, he used these words in his preface, dated 1805:

Strong evidence has been adduced that he (Madoc)

[1] *History of Wales*, 1st ed. (1786), p. 334.

reached America, and that his posterity exist there to this day, on the southern branches of the Missouri, retaining their complexion, their language, and, in some degree, their arts.'

But the exploration of these regions dispelled this belief; and, accordingly, ten years later, he appended this note to the first statement:

'That country has now been fully explored, and wherever Madoc may have settled, it is now certain that no Welsh Indians are to be found upon any branches of the Missouri, 1815.'

Yet his scepticism went no farther than this: he gave up the belief that the Indians of the Missouri were the descendants of the Britons, but he does not appear to have abandoned the belief that Madoc really did land somewhere on the New Continent.

This question occupied a large share of the attention of the Kymry, and especially of Welshmen resident in London, during the thirty years that intervened between 1791 and 1821. During the former year, as we have seen, the 'Gentleman's Magazine' was inundated with letters respecting the Welsh Indians; and in 1818 and 1819, when 'SEREN GOMER' appeared, that publication also gave place to several letters written for and against their existence, but principally maintaining the former view. A letter signed 'Begeryr' is the first negative paper in Welsh that has come under my notice, and evidently came from no ordinary pen;[1] but other persons began to entertain misgivings; and doubts found their way even to the Cymreigyddion and Gwyneddigion Societies of London. The question of the existence or non-existence of Welsh Indians was frequently discussed by the members, and one elaborate speech on the affirmative side, by Mr. John Solomon Jones, one of the Vice-Presidents of the former Society, has been preserved.[2]

[1] *Seren Gomer*, 1818, p. 199. [2] *Ibid.* p. 295.

It was delivered May 21, 1818, and was much commended at the time. Mr. Thomas Roberts of Llwynrhudol, whose sanguine advocacy of the 'Welsh Indian' cause obtained for him the name of the 'Father of the Madogwys,' also followed on the same side, May 26, when he submitted nine resolutions for the approval of the Society. The whole of these were adopted, and afterwards confirmed at another meeting, held June 4,[1] and one of them embodied a vote of thanks to Mr. Solomon Jones for his 'excellent oration'; but, though the speech displays much ability, and includes a large number of 'proofs,' it will not be deemed quite satisfactory at the present day. Where the question turns, not upon the number of authorities, but upon their critical value, we cannot attach any importance to the opinion of a man who said, wilfully or ignorantly, that Caradoc records the voyages of Madoc, and that Hakluyt *saw* the statements of Llwyd and Powel made by Guttyn Owen, who quotes the following verse of a modern song composed for the London Cymreigyddion Society:

Aeth Madoc heb dra,
A'i ddyfais oedd dda;
Ei lestr a hwyliodd
Hyd wyneb y dyfroedd
Trwy nerth y moroedd certh,
I'r America——[2]

as being of equal authority with the Englyn of Cynddelw, and who was so careless as to place the death of John Evans at New Orleans. His contemporaries, however, were still less critical; and the question was generally decided in the affirmative; but the minority still held to their denial; and in so doing had the sanction of no less a man than the Rev. Walter Davies (*Gwallter Mechain*), who, in reference to these

[1] *Seren Gomer*, 1818, p. 316.

[2] 'Rhuddenfab,' the editor of a small collection of Welsh songs (*Cerddi Cymru*, p. 12), attributes this song to John Jones of Glanygors

very discussions, adds this comment after the word 'affirmative': 'as majority of votes too often do, upon the wrong side of a question, be its importance and consequence ever so great.'[1] The question again came under the consideration of the Cymreigyddion on December 8 in the same year, in consequence of a letter from the Rev. George Lewis, D.D. At a missionary meeting held in August of that year at Llanfyllin, it was thought that a mission to the Madogwys had special claims upon the attention of the Kymry. Dr. Lewis, without committing himself to the affirmative side, urged the matter upon the attention of the Cymreigyddion, and they on the above day replied to his letter, approving of the suggestion, and endeavoured to remove his doubts.[2]

Time has not altered these relative positions; for though the tradition lost credit with English writers, except Mrs. Campbell, the majority of Welshmen, possibly even of Cambrian writers, still continue to affirm that Madoc discovered the land of the far west; and, even if not, that there are Welsh Indians on the Missouri. Many writers, seeing that the Madogwys receded farther and farther as the American continent became more fully explored, wavered in their belief; but Mr. Catlin's work has reassured them; and one at least, the careful biographer of 'Eminent Welshmen,' has recorded his conviction, not only that Madoc discovered the New World, but also that the expeditions of Madoc are mentioned by three poets who were his contemporaries, as well as by Meredydd ab Rhys, before Columbus was heard of; and that the Welsh Indians were the Mandans of Mr. Catlin.[3] This work was published in 1852.

A still later writer, namely, the Rev. R. W. Morgan,

[1] *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine*, 1829, vol. i. p. 446.

[2] *Seren Gomer*, 1818, p. 317; and 1819, p. 4.

[3] Williams's *Eminent Welshmen*, articles 'John Evans' and 'Madog ap Owen Gwynedd.'

adopts the Madoc narrative, and affirms his conviction that its truth has been clearly established.[1]

The most distinguished living writer on this side is Dr. Rowland Williams, if he still retains his conviction of 1846. It does not appear, however, that he had examined the evidence critically; and it should be observed that he does not expressly assent to the affirmative proposition. He says, 'It is one of those traditions, "poeticis magis decora fabulis, quæ nec affirmare nec refellere in animo est."'[2] But as he has made it the basis of a poem, entitled 'Madoc at Sea,' the bias of his mind seems to have inclined to this side.

It is, therefore, very apparent that the affirmative view is very powerfully supported, and that many of the best-known natives of the Principality—men, too, of great talent and extensive learning—have ranged themselves on what may, perhaps, be termed the popular side.

Our Cambrian story seems to have fascinated men of every order of mind, and amongst others the late Baron Humboldt. 'It is much to be desired,' he says, 'that in these days of just, and not excessive scepticism, in historic research, an inquiry could be made into Prince Madoc's story, in Wales. Old traditions, and the genuine chronicles of the Principality, would thus be usefully examined. I by no means share the contempt with which some writers rashly treat this story. On the contrary, I am strongly convinced that some facts, hitherto lost sight of, may be recovered, to throw light upon the voyages of the Middle Ages; and upon the striking resemblances of some things now familiar to us in the New World, to many things well known in the East.'[3]

It has also found favour with his countryman, the tra-

[1] *The British Kymry*, p. 166.

[2] *Lays from the Cimbric Lyre*, by 'Goronva Camlan' (Dr. Rowland Williams), London, 1846, pp. 10, 237.

[3] *Examen Critique de l'Histoire de Géographie* (Paris, 1837) cited in Rev. T. Price's *Literary Remains*, vol. ii. p. 273.

veller J. G. Kohl, who in his last work says that the Cambrian narrative 'looks very like a discovery of America.' And he adds, in continuation, 'An American writer (probably meaning Catlin) of the present day has even taken the trouble to show that the traditions and the language of the so-called Mandan Indians, 'who now dwell in central Missouri, prove them to be the descendants of the followers of Prince Madoc. Indeed, many have found these Welsh wanderers again in one of the most remote tribes to the far West in California. In consequence of the supposed discovery of traces of Madoc's Welsh, spread so extensively throughout the whole of America, an Englishman has proposed that the New World should not be named, as at present, after Amerigo Vespucci, nor called Columbia after Columbus, but rather *Madocia* after Prince Madoc.'[1] Mr. Kohl is probably not aware that it has been suggested that *America* is itself a word of Welsh origin, formed from *Ar myr uchel* or *ycha*, 'on the high or farthest seas'; that this descriptive name was used by the natives, and that Vespucci took his *prænomen* therefrom![2]

The subject appears to have also occupied the attention of our cousins across the Atlantic. Mr. John Russell Bartlett, the Secretary of the American Ethnological Society, in the winter of 1841, at New York, stated that he had been investigating the subject, and that he was in possession of affidavits and other documents, to attest the truth of the Cambrian tradition, and of the existence of Welsh Indians.[3] His work has not, I believe, yet seen the light; but if the affidavits were those of the Rev. Morgan Jones and Colonel Crochan, they will be found in the present Essay.[4] The Rev. Thomas

[1] *History of the Discovery of America*, vol. i. pp. 33, 35; vol. ii. p. 142.

[2] *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine*, vol. iv. p. 469.

[3] Sir J. E. Alexander, *L'Acadie*, vol. iv. p. 89; and Mr. J. Toulmin Smith, *Discovery of America by the Northmen*, 1842, p. 235.

[4] [The affirmative view is maintained in two American works, pub-

James, of Netherthong, Yorkshire, under his Kymric signature *Llallawg*, in 'Notes and Queries,' December 7, 1862, states that he had written to Mr. Bartlett, inquiring whether the promised work had been published, but that he had not received any reply. Mr. James was one of the judges of this Essay at Llangollen. He then declined to adjudicate, and it would seem that he is still unable to say, '*Liberavi animam meam.*'

*Section II.*—The Tentative View: *that there is no sufficient evidence that Madoc discovered America; but that he left Wales, and that it is not known whither he went.*

It has been seen in the preceding section that a minority of the Gwyneddigion, countenanced by no less a man than the Rev. Walter Davies, differed in opinion from their fellow-members on this subject; and as several men of note, distinguished by critical ability, historic research, and sound judgment, have numbered themselves either among positive dissentients or as entertaining very serious doubts, it becomes necessary to pass them in review.

The first avowed opponent of the Cambrian tradition was Lord Lyttelton, in his 'History of Henry II.,' the first edition of which was published in 1764–7.[1] He supposed that Dr. Powel had interpolated the Madoc narrative in the Chronicle of Caradoc. Here he was evidently mistaken; but if he had said this of Humphrey Llwyd, he might have pleaded Powel's authority for the statement. He grants that Madoc may have been a bolder navigator than any of his countrymen in that age, and that he might have been famous for some voyage;

lished since the death of Mr. Stephens, entitled, *America discovered by the Welsh in* 1170 A.D., by the Rev. Benjamin F. Bowen (Philadelphia, 1876); and *The Pre-Columbian Voyages of the Welsh to America*, by B. F. De Costa (Albany, 1891).]

[1] *History of Henry II.* note to Book v. p. 505 (1st ed. 1764-1767; vol. iv. p. 371).

but, says he, 'as the course was not marked, it is of no importance to the matter in question.'[1] We may, therefore, place him in our second class.

Its next assailant was Robertson, the Historian of America, who thought that if Madoc made any discovery at all, it was most probably Madeira or some of the Western Isles.[2]

The first Kymro who openly declared his hostility to this tradition was Dr. John Jones. He was a native of the parish of Llandybïe, in Carmarthenshire, having been born at Derwydd, August 17, 1772. He studied on the Continent, at the University of Jena, which conferred on him the degree of LL.D., took to the Bar as a profession in 1803, and died at Islington in distressed circumstances, September 28, 1837. He wrote several works, amongst others 'A History of Wales,' but most of his writings are characterised by a tendency to flippancy and sarcasm, and this is observed in his treatment of this question. He wrote a letter on this subject, dated 'Islington, July 19, 1819,' which appeared in the 'Monthly Magazine' for September of that year.

He commences by saying that 'an unfounded tradition among the uncultivated natives of North Wales, respecting the migration of Madog,' was 'still persisted in by certain illiterate Methodist and other preachers, who have of late raised considerable sums of money, by calling upon public characters and procuring subscriptions towards defraying the expenses requisite for making a pretended simple hunt after the imaginary Welsh Indians.'

He charges the Madoc narrative with improbability, and says 'that the whole population of Gwynedd at that time did not equal that of St. Mary at Islington; that Madoc would not have been suffered to deport the subjects of his brother,

[1] *History of Henry II. loc. cit.* (1st ed. 1764).

[2] The question is discussed in a long note to the first volume, p. 373 (ed. 1788); or pp. 368–371 (9th ed. 1800).

and that the fleet of Commodore Madog, consisting of wicker-boats covered with hides or tarred blankets, effected a rather extraordinary performance, if they were able to leave Ireland on the north, and cast these supposed deserters of their country on the coasts of Armorica or Gallicia.'

After this he examines the bardic quotations from the poems of Cynddelw, Prydydd y Moch, Gwalchmai, and Meredydd ab Rhys, and sums up the result in these words:

'Thus, Mr. Editor, the bards make no mention whatever of any migration of Madog into a western continent, but merely take passing notice of him as lost at sea; that he had left his country, that his departure was lamented, and that he was of a generous disposition, and an eminent fisherman.'

He then quotes the concluding words of Humphrey Llwyd, and uses them to show 'that they afford positive testimony against the existence of the Welsh Indians.'

In an early part of the letter he said there was no pretence for believing in 'a colony of Madogion, mad-dogs, or Welsh Indians,' and concludes his letter with this paragraph:

'It may be expected that I should notice tales related of Welsh Indian chiefs; of Welshmen taken prisoners, and released on account of their similarity of language; and of Welsh Methodist preachers who have resided among the Indians, and preached among them for years. But this would be making a very idle use of your valuable pages, since it is well known that there are not a hundred square miles of the inhabited or inhabitable parts of America that have not been traversed; and that, in consequence of the labours of navigators and travellers, geography is now become a positive science.'

This letter produced a great sensation at the time; its pun upon 'Madogwys,' with its sarcastic allusions, and apparently unfounded imputations, gave great offence; and it would seem that it has not been forgiven to this day.[1]

[1] See Williams's *Eminent Welshmen*, art. 'John Jones,' p. 560.

Mr. Humphreys Parry, editor of the 'Cambro-Briton,' replied to Dr. Jones in the number of that magazine for October 1819, and said that, 'after long and dispassionate consideration,' he had been induced to believe in the existence of the Madogwys. He charged Dr. Jones with having evaded the testimony of Ieuan Brechva, Guttyn Owen, Herbert, and the historic Triad, admitted the words already given as those of Llwyd, not to have been the words of Caradoc, but affirmed them to have been the words of Guttyn Owen, and suggested that they set forth an erroneous opinion. He admitted that the bardic quotations of Jones only affirmed that Madoc left his country and went to sea, but laid stress on the passage respecting the 'two princes,' which Dr. Jones had not cited, and he summed up his argument in these words:

'What he (Dr. Jones) has quoted, if they determine anything, prove that Madog had disappeared by sea: what he has kindly left to be cited by others extend to the circumstances, and even to the object of his voluntary exile. These, united with the facts which have transpired during the last sixty years, respecting the settlement of a strange nation on the higher branches of the Missouri, differing essentially in their habits and manners from the adjacent tribes, and even speaking the Welsh language, can leave little room for scepticism, except to such as make scepticism a profession. Yet all this testimony, derived from a hundred various sources, and uniting in one focus, is thrown by our candid objector unceremoniously into the shade. So strong, however, is the concatenation of evidence thus produced, as to be considered irresistible by many persons fully capable of estimating its value.'[1]

The reply contained as much sarcasm as the attack, though couched in more polished phraseology; but characterised, as it was, by assertion rather than proof, it could not have been deemed quite satisfactory, even at that time; and, upon reflec-

[1] *Cambro-Briton*, vol. i. p. 61.

tion, it does not appear to have been deemed conclusive by the writer himself. He referred to the subject two years afterwards, but in a less confident tone;[1] and having subsequently redeemed his promise to review the whole of the evidence, he finally adopted the modified conclusion which forms the heading of this section. At the Carmarthen Eisteddfod, September 24 and 25, 1823, a prize was offered for the best Essay on the following subject: 'On the Navigation of the Britons from the earliest dawn of their history to the close of the twelfth century, including the probability or improbability of Madog ab Owain Gwynedd and his followers settling in any part of the Western Hemisphere.'

The judges were the Ven. Archdeacon Beynon and the Rev. Mr. Prothero, Vicar of Llandeilo Vawr; they awarded the prize to the author of the Essay signed 'Omer,' who turned out to be John Humphreys Parry, Esq.

The conclusions of the author, as exhibited in the published Essay, were these:

1. As to the historic statements, 'that the disappearance of Madoc is an event as free from doubt as any other recorded in the annals of Wales. With respect, however, to the particular country he is said to have discovered, whatever ground may have existed formerly for such an assumption, either traditionally or otherwise, the account must now be received with the caution naturally suggested by the lapse of so many ages, and the consequent absence of positive evidence' (p. 35).

2. As to Welsh Indians, 'that the testimony is by no means decisive as to the fact, notwithstanding the positiveness with which some of the points have been asserted. For if the Welsh language be actually spoken among the Indians of America, and there really exist among them ancient Welsh MSS., it is truly extraordinary that the fact has not, before

[1] *Cambro-Briton*, vol. iii. p. 435.

this time, been placed beyond the reach of cavil, or the necessity for inquiry. More than three centuries have elapsed since the acknowledged intercourse between Europeans and the New World, and this interesting question is still undetermined. *Adhuc sub judice lis est.*' (P. 41.)

The subject was referred to in the year 1820, by the Rev. E. Hughes, of Bodfari, who introduced it into his poem on 'Hiraeth Cymro am ei Wlad,' sent to the Wrexham Eisteddfod in that year. See the collected poems on that subject, published at Denbigh.[1]

We come, in the next place, to consider the testimony of the Rev. Thomas Price, fondly known among his countrymen by his cognomen *Carnhuanawc*. His opinion upon difficult historical questions is held to be of great weight; and I am happy to be able to concur in this general and favourable estimate; for he took much pains to collect trustworthy evidences, approached the facts in a spirit at once patriotic and candid, and displayed much critical acumen and soundness of judgment in forming his opinions thereupon. He, too, shows a disposition to reject the common tradition, and to hold the proofs as yet adduced in its favour to be insufficient. In dealing with this question he commences thus (we translate his work, which is in the Welsh language):

'The history of the voyage of this prince (i.e. Madoc ab Owen) is given by Powel, as he affirms, on the authority of Guttyn Owen, who, as is said, wrote between 1460 and 1490, and therefore before the voyage of Columbus, for Columbus sailed in 1492, and returned in 1493. The history of Madoc, according to the above authority, is as follows.'

Having recounted the usual statements, he further adds that the lines of Meredydd ap Rhys and Triad No. 10 were cited in support of that narrative, and sums up his conclusions in the following terms:

[1] *Y Powysion* (Denbigh, 1821), pp. 61–63.

'Reference is also made to other proofs in the works of the *Gogynfeirdd* (or mediæval bards); but I never had the good fortune to alight upon them; and I am of opinion that the above cited are the strongest on record. As to the recent correlative proofs, respecting the discovery of a tribe of Madogwys in America, so many vain and thoughtless assertions have been made and repeated, and so many naked and designed falsehoods have been added to them, that whoever takes this subject in hand must be very watchful lest he be misled. One of the strongest arguments against the narrative is the difficulty of the voyage, because the mariner's compass was unknown at that time, and it was not usual to sail out of the sight of land. In reply, it is said that the latter statement is not true, for that they made voyages to Norway; to the Continent generally, and to Iceland; that the islanders of the South Seas had made such voyages; and that in fair weather, with a clear sky, the voyage of Madoc was not impossible. And, therefore, after weighing the various arguments against each other, I conclude that the determination rests entirely upon the date of Guttyn Owen's narrative, viz.: whether it was written before or after the voyage of Columbus. That Madoc chose a seafaring life, rather than contend hopelessly for territorial possessions, is not improbable; and if the lines above cited are rightly dated, this is undeniable. But as to the other parts of the proofs we must wait until the evidences have been more minutely examined.'[1]

Commending this thoughtful passage to the attention of the reader, I now proceed to unfold a third aspect of this question.

[1] *Hanes Cymru*, pp. 589–591. This work was published in parts from 1836 to 1842. Living authors of note suppose that Madoc may have left his country and landed in Spain, or on some European coast; but none of them accept the national tradition of the Kymry in its entirety.

*Section III.*—The Negative View: *that Madoc neither sought, nor found, a new country in the far West; and that he fell by the sword in his own country.*

Besides the two preceding aspects of this question, there is a third, namely, that which we have called the negative view; and this has been supported by several writers of considerable ability.

The first Welshman who rejected the Madoc claim was Thomas Pennant, the eminent naturalist, whose judgment will be cited in another connection.

After him came the late Rev. Walter Davies, M.A., known among the bards as *Gwallter Mechain*. He was the author and editor of many works deservedly held in great repute, and a frequent contributor to the Cambrian magazines, which owe to him many of their most valuable articles. He was, up to his death (December 5, 1849, *æt.* 89), generally accounted to be the clearest-headed and best-informed Kymro of his day; his writings are all characterised by great candour, much critical sagacity, and an enlightened judgment. In the course of his life he showed an intimate acquaintance with the writings of the elder bards; was the author of a prize essay on the Welsh Metres, in which he gave an analysis of the metres used in our most ancient poems; edited the works of Huw Morus, and assisted in editing those of Lewis Glyn Cothi; and he was himself one of the most distinguished of recent Welsh poets. He was, therefore, admirably qualified to form an opinion upon any question involving a reference to the poems of the old bards, such as that which is now under consideration; and his judgment, whatever it might be, was always held to be of much weight.

Like Dr. Jones, who undertook 'to upset this idle tale,'

he thought he could, with a few words from his pen, dispose of the reputed discovery of America and the Welsh Indians; but he underrated the vitality of a tradition so intimately interwoven with our national feelings; and it is not improbable that it would have still survived, even if his view of it had amounted to a clear and conclusive demonstration; for traditions, honourable to the pride of a high-minded people retentive of their fame, retain their vitality even when found to be untrue; and as Hercules had to cut off all the heads of the Lernean Hydra, so must the refuter of such traditions leave no stone unturned, no argument unanswered, no semblance of authority unnoticed; but, if true, like the rightful heir to a disputed property, or the legitimate descendant of a royal house, it rises again and again to assert its rights, and will eventually establish its claim. To which of these classes the Madoc tradition belongs we shall presently endeavour to show.

But we return to *Gwallter Mechain*. He says: 'To set this question at rest, I believe it may be proved, from indisputable documents, that Madoc ab Owen Gwynedd, the supposed discoverer of America many centuries before Columbus, fell by the sword (the too frequent death of the brave in those days) in his own country. Let Columbus, then—the great and injured Columbus—have every merit that is strictly due to his unrivalled genius.

'Charles Lloyd, his brother Thomas, and the Morgan Jones above mentioned, had been contemporary students at Jesus College, Oxford; but the fable of the Welsh Indians in America did not originate with them. Dr. Powel, in his "History of Cambria," Hakluyt in his "Voyages," Sir Thomas Herbert in his "Travels," had all of them previously given their sanction to the credibility of the tradition that Prince Madoc had sailed "far to the West," &c.; but we have no authority for supposing that he ever sailed beyond Ireland,

or the Isle of Man, or even that he ever boarded a skiff, save over the Straits of the Menai. He met, as is above hinted, with a violent death in his native land.'[1]

Mr. Davies does not state what those documents were, on which he relied; but it is not difficult to discover that he had in his mind the elegiac verse of Cynddelw, and the 'Ode to the Hot Iron' of Llywarch ab Llywelyn. An anonymous writer in the 'Cambrian and Caledonian Magazine,' 1831, vol. iii. p. 140 (probably Mr. Davies), says: 'There are notices of several emigrations in ancient times from Britain, in the Triads and other authorities. The one by Madog ab Owain Gwynedd and his followers, as recorded by Welsh historians, is not now believed to have any foundation, notwithstanding several late attempts to authenticate the narrative. The first emigration from Wales to America took place in the reign of the licentious Charles II.'

Bancroft, the best-known historian of America, passes over the Madoc narrative in silence. It is difficult to conceive that he was not acquainted with it, for he frequently cites Hakluyt's 'Voyages,' in which it occurs; and hence it becomes probable that he held it to have been of no authority. The writer of the 'History of Maritime Discovery,' in Lardner's 'Cyclopædia,' takes the narrative into consideration, and pronounces it to have no foundation in fact.

The next writer in the order of chronology is the author of the 'Literature of the Kymry,' 'a self-educated Welsh druggist at Merthyr Tydfil.'[2]

In 1848, when that work was published, this subject was evidently new to him. He introduces it with the remark that he had not paid sufficient attention to the evidence to

[1] *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine*, 1829, vol. i. p. 441.

[2] *The Literary Remains of the Rev. Thomas Price, Carnhuanawc, Vicar of Cwmdû, Breconshire, and Rural Dean: with a Memoir of his Life*, by Jane Williams, Ysgafell, vol. ii. p. 376.

form a definite opinion, and concludes his observations in these terms:

'The passage first quoted (i.e. that about the "two princes") looks as if it had been written after Madoc's return, for it describes the newly-found territory as "easily guarded." The line

Yn esguraw hawl hawt adnes
(Prowling after a possession easily guarded)

seems more decisive of the question than any other evidence that can be adduced, as the description seems applicable to a new and thinly populated country. Too much stress has been laid upon the poem of Meredydd ab Rhys, both by the opponents and the advocates of this story; for, after all, it simply states the fondness of Madoc for the sea, and leaves the question of the discovery of America just where it was before. That Madoc left the country is quite clear from the concurrent testimony of the bards and the following triad (i.e. No. 10); but the annals of the country leave his landing-place unknown. We must, therefore, look elsewhere for proofs of his discovery of the American continent.'[1]

He then gives Herbert's account at length, but without any express sanction of the statements therein set forth; and it is evident that he had not finally made up his mind on the subject. Had he rested here, we should have had to place him in our second class, in company with Jones, Parry, and Price.

Latterly (1856), he has again given an opinion on the subject, and it is evident that his judgment has now been fully formed, and that it is adverse to the claims of Madoc. In an essay in the Welsh language, entitled 'Sefyllfa Wareiddiol Cymru,' or 'The Position of Wales in Civilisation,' and published in the 'Traethodydd,' he has the words here translated:

[1] *Literature of the Kymry*, p. 143, 2nd ed. p. 132.

'It is frequently asserted that a Kymro first discovered the American continent; but for all that is said about Madoc ab Owen Gwynedd, and notwithstanding the positive yet false assertion in "Drych y Prif Oesoedd" respecting his reputed epitaph, the history is very doubtful; and there is reason to believe that Madoc was slain in some tumult at home, and that he never was very far from the land of his birth.'[1]

In a note he cites as a proof the lines of Cynddelw, and adds: 'The warlike character attributed to Madoc in this verse is directly opposed to the pacific character usually assigned to him. There was some mystery about his assassination; and it is not improbable that he might have loved to be a sailor; but there is no ground for the belief that he discovered America.'

It is, therefore, manifest that, whatever value may be attached to the judgments of Mr. Stephens, the Madoc narrative has been weighed in his balance and found wanting.[2]

The next writer on the negative side is Mr. B. B. Woodward, who, in 1854, published an illustrated 'History of Wales.' He enters largely into the evidences on this point, and displays considerable scepticism in the course of his remarks. He accepts the representation that Madoc was fond of the sea, and was drowned therein; and holds that this distinction among a people notoriously averse from maritime pursuits was the foundation of his fame; that his reputed discovery is nothing more than a legend, which for baselessness might rival those about Arthur, although it cannot be compared

[1] *Y Traethodydd* (The Essayist), Dec. 1857, p. 391.

[2] The present Essay, when sent into competition, was necessarily anonymous, and purported to be 'from the quill pen or *saeth wellten* of Gwrnerth Ergydlym'; the omission of any reference to the notice of the subject in my former work would have awakened suspicion as to the authorship of the Essay; and, as some reference to the change in my views would naturally be looked for, I have thought it advisable to allow these paragraphs to remain

with them in grandeur and renown, Southey's efforts notwithstanding; that this originated after the discovery of Columbus, and when the English were the enemies of Spain, with a Welshman who was courageous enough to convert the vague exaggerations of the bards in praise of the Kymric prince, who had identified his name with a too daring maritime exploit, into prosaic reality; and that, on this ground, he claimed priority for his country in the discovery and occupation of the New World.[1]

A still later writer has to be added to the list of dissentients, namely, the Rev. John Emlyn Jones, M.A., who, in his recent edition of Titus Lewis's 'Hanes Prydain Fawr,' has these remarks:

'Not the least known of the sons of Owen Gwynedd was Madoc, who, they say, sailed to America years before Columbus thought of it. Much has been written on this head, and much search has been made for the Madogwys, or Welsh Indians, in America; but no sufficient evidence has yet been obtained to establish the departure of Madoc ab Owen Gwynedd as a historical fact' (p. 103).

Having thus enumerated the principal writers on this question; having shown that it has been viewed in very various ways; and having shown that the story is disbelieved by historical critics, while it retains its hold on the popular belief among the inhabitants of Wales, we shall proceed in the next place to review the whole of the evidence ourselves, and thus endeavour to form a definite opinion.

[1] *History of Wales*, pp. 326-334.

## CHAPTER III.

### A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE PRECEDING FACTS, STATEMENTS, AND OPINIONS.

In conducting this inquiry we shall adopt a different course from that taken in the first chapter. We there began with the earliest facts in the history of Madoc, the poems of contemporary bards, and ranged in chronological order all the succeeding testimonies, until we arrived at a period comparatively recent; but we shall now begin with the latest statements alleged as proofs, and ascend, step by step, to the earliest stages of the Madoc narrative.

We have seen that the latest confirmation of the current statement was the alleged discovery of Welsh Indians in North America, who preserved the manners, arts, and complexion of their assumed progenitors, spoke the Welsh language, and understood fluent discourses from Cambrian preachers, even though the said preachers spoke the dialect of Siluria, while the Indians must, upon the hypothesis, have descended from natives of Gwynedd. But these statements have been disputed; and, accordingly, it becomes our first duty to ascertain the character of these allegations, and to determine what amount of confidence is to be placed in them. Let us therefore at once raise the question.

#### *Section I.*—Are there Welsh Indians?

If this question were asked at an Eisteddfod—that of Llangollen, for instance—the whole assembly, with not more

than two or three dissentients, would immediately give an affirmative response; several living writers, respectable from their position, learning, and talents, would unite with them in so doing; and many of the illustrious dead, as we have already seen, held the same opinion. But this testimony must, in the majority of cases, rest upon hearsay; and those who had formed their own opinions, from evidence presented to their minds, would probably be few in number. We are, therefore, brought back to the groundwork of their belief; and our business just now is not with the opinions which have been formed from the evidence, but with the evidence itself.

This, also, is equally strong in affirmation. Crosses were found, it is said, in Mexico and Central America; from which, and a few insignificant rites, the learned Hornius inferred the knowledge of Baptism, the Lord's Supper, the Trinity, and most of the leading features of the Catholic religion. The Jesuit missionaries said the Indians were strangely agitated by the sight of the cross, and hence inferred that they had been evangelised by Madoc. And one Benjamin Sutton said the Welsh Indians had a kind of Sabbatical observance among them. The Rev. Morgan Jones preached to them in Welsh, and conversed with them in the same language. Mr. Binon found iron among them, and castles and churches such as were in Wales. A cloud of witnesses affirm that the Indians spoke the Welsh language. General Bowles and others found among them a sacred volume written in blue ink, and others affirmed them to possess Welsh Bibles. The name of Madoc appeared to survive in the Mexican names of *Matec Zunga* and *Mat Ingam*; his tomb, bearing an inscription in the Welsh language and in the *Cynghanedd* of the fourteenth century, was held in reverence; and both his name and that of his wife were kept in grateful remembrance as *Manco Capac* and *Mamma Ocello*.

Are these statements true or false? And, if true, is the Madoc solution the only one of which they admit? Before answering these questions, we must, however, observe that some of the statements are inferences, and therefore belong to a different category. Of this kind are the testimonies of Hornius, the Jesuits, and the identity of the names Madoc, Matec Zunga, and Manco Capac. Hornius proceeded upon an assumption that all the practices prevalent in the Catholic Church were natural developments of Christianity, and had grown up within the pale of the Church itself: whereas the fact is that the Church adopted numerous pagan forms and practices, and that many of its distinctive features, even those which have been adopted in the Church of England, are of heathen origin.[1] Practices analogous to those of the Catholic Church were found among the Buddhist priests of Thibet; crosses have been found among many nations; and baptismal rites were at least Jewish before they became Christian. The cross, therefore, is not an exclusively Christian symbol, and its occurrence among the aborigines of America would not in itself afford any proof of an antecedent Christian colonisation. And as to the similarity in names, it requires considerable prejudice to see any resemblance between Madoc and Manco Capac; while Madoc might be thought to have no more necessary connection with *Matec* than Manu the Hindu with Alderman Moon.

Others are positive statements, which must either be wilful

[1] *Christian Freedom in the Councils of Jerusalem*: a Sermon by the Rev. Rowland Williams, D.D., p. 9.

'No man can survey, with the calm eye of an historian, the Church of England as she stands, without tracing the signs of a rich and manifold inheritance in her manners, her dress, her dignities, her language, and her modes of thought. Our surplices are perhaps from Egypt; our gowns represent either the old Philosopher's cloak, or possibly the Roman toga, &c. &c.'

The whole paragraph is admirably written, and full of information

falsehoods, or represent actual facts. Many—indeed, most of them—have a very suspicious appearance; and some of them, such as those of Mr. Binon, strike the mind at once as being deliberate lies; but others again are so circumstantial as to demand investigation. The testimony of the Rev. Morgan Jones will serve as a fair specimen of the whole class. If true, it is of a kind that will admit of verification; but if he, a minister of the Gospel, and a man having the advantages of an Oxford education, could either have been grossly self-deceived or have been so wilfully deceitful towards others, what other testimony can have any claim to acceptance?

According to that statement, the Rev. Morgan Jones dwelt among Welsh Indians for four months, preached to them three times a week in the Welsh language, and was treated by them with great kindness in consequence of this similarity of language. These Indians were called *Doegs*, and were by the common consent of Messrs. Owen, Williams, and Parry, the Padoucas of the end of the last century. Indeed, Mr. Owen does not hesitate to affirm that the latter went under the appellation of *Welsh* Indians 'among the traders,' though an English writer suggests that they only received that name from Cambrian antiquaries.[1] Such circumstantial statements as these admitted of being proved or disproved. If the Padoucas or Doegs were the Madogwys, and spoke the Welsh language, the fact could be ascertained, and placed beyond any possibility of denial. This was felt to be the case; and Messrs. Owen and Williams, of whose sincerity there need be no doubt, felt confident their statements could abide this test. Subscriptions were proposed for the purpose of sending competent persons to verify these statements; but whether a sufficient sum of money was obtained for this purpose does not appear.

[1] *Cambrian Register*, vol. i. p. 377; *History of Maritime Discovery*, Lardner's *Cyclopædia*, vol i. p. 215.

The tales told respecting the Welsh Indians found favour with many persons, even beyond the bounds of the Principality; but in Wales itself they produced a profound and enduring impression. Many causes concurred to commend them to the acceptance of the Kymry. The simplicity of the national character has always led my countrymen to give implicit and unsuspecting credence to all strong and positive assertions; the honour which would accrue to the Principality, from the expected demonstration of the fact that a Welsh Prince had been the first discoverer of America, fired the imagination of a people who have ever dwelt with fondness upon the heroism of their ancestry; the theological culture of the Kymry led them to see a remarkable dispensation of Providence in the reputed discovery of their brethren, after the lapse of six centuries; and the zeal with which they have advocated Christian Missions found here objects more deserving than any others—objects grateful alike to their native pride and religious feelings. A devout bard prayed in this spirit:

Taened goleu, tywyniad gwiwlon,
I'r gorllewinol barthau llawnion;
Gwawr o ddiwygiad gywir ddigon,
Draw i Fadawgwys drefedigion.

And the Kymry with one voice joined in this aspiration of Davydd Ddu Eryri.

Under the influence of these feelings, John Evans, a native of Waunfawr, in Carnarvonshire, offered to undertake this mission, perilous as he knew it must be. He was the son of a Calvinistic Methodist preacher, and was himself a member in that connection.

He left this country, not in 1790, as is stated,[1] nor yet in

[1] *Cambrian Biography*, and Williams's *Eminent Welshmen*, art. 'John Evans.'

1793,[1] but in the month of September 1792,[2] and arrived at Baltimore in America on December 10 following. From Baltimore he went to Philadelphia, and from thence twelve miles farther, to pay a visit to Dr. Samuel Jones at a place called Lower Dublin. This gentleman was a member of Congress, and offered to get Evans an escort of twenty armed men. Evans then returned to Baltimore, where he spent the winter in a merchant's office, at a salary of fifty pounds a year. From this place he sent a letter, dated St. Stephen's Day, 1792, to his brother in Carnarvonshire, and in it the spirit by which he was actuated appears very manifest. 'I believe it,' he says, 'to be my duty to honour the name of Jesus, if I can, by opening a door for the everlasting Gospel to penetrate to these miserable beings, my brethren; for this I have offered my life to the work of the Lord, trusting that He will care for me.' He further said that he was going forward to Fort Cumberland, from thence to Fort Pitt, and from thence down the Ohio in an armed boat.[3] He then returned, at the end of January, to concert matters with Dr. Jones; and, taking his route through Kentucky, he left the house of Dr. Jones in the beginning of March.[4] He had obtained information of a person 'who had been among the Welsh Indians,'[5] and intended to visit him on the way. Having arrived at St. Louis, on the north-west of the Mississippi, and twelve miles below the mouth of the Missouri, he excited the suspicion of the Commandant of that place, which was then in the possession of the Spaniards, and was by him thrown into prison, from

[1] *Cambrian Register*, vol. i. p. 377.

[2] *Cylchgrawn Cynmraeg*, May 1793, p. 104.

[3] Letter from John Evans to his brother, published in the *Cylchgrawn Cynmraeg*, May 1793, p. 114. See Appendix.

[4] Letter of Dr. Samuel Jones to Thomas Evans, brother of John Evans, published in the above *Cylchgrawn* for August 1793, p. 150. See Appendix.

[5] *Cylchgrawn Cynmraeg*, May 1793, p. 105.

which he was released at the intercession of a Welshman named Jones, living in that town.

Through the representations of Judge Turner, one of the Supreme Judges of the United States North-Western Territory, who had been visited by the Commandant, and told by him of the detention, Evans was allowed to proceed; and the object of his mission having been satisfactorily explained, and being thought likely to lead to other good results to the world at large, the Commandant supplied him with passports in Spanish, French, and English, to go on his journey. From thence, instructed by Judge Turner how to conduct himself among the Indians, he went up the Missouri, furnished with proper articles to introduce himself to the different tribes. He had instructions to keep a diary; to trace the Missouri to its source; to approach the Burning Mountain as near as he could; to follow the Western Waters to the Pacific; and, on producing proof that he had reached the Pacific, whether he met with Welsh Madogians or not, he was to receive, on his return, two thousand dollars from the Spanish Government;[1] so that he would have had a comfortable support in after years if he had fully accomplished the proposed survey.

The Rev. Morgan Rees exhorted John Evans to keep a diary, and expressed a hope that, for the purpose of publication, it might yield a hundred pounds; but it does not appear that the diary, if kept, was ever published. Evans, however, appears to have written to his friends at home, and his letters

[1] The principal authorities for these facts are three letters from 'M. ap Ioan Rhys' (the Rev. M. J. Rees), who emigrated to America in 1794. The first is dated Washington, August 21, 1795, was addressed to Mr. Robert Roberts of New York, when on the point of returning to the old country, and was published in the *Geirgrawn Cymraeg*, Holywell, 1796, pp. 9–14. Another, dated Philadelphia, November 24, 1795, was published in the *Cambrian Register*, vol. i. p. 379; and a third, published in Burder's pamphlet, p. 34, was addressed to a friend at Bala.

enable us to give some account of his progress. A summary was published in 1800, in a rare Welsh magazine published at Carnarvon, and entitled the 'Greal, or Eurgrawn'; and as this is the only account known to me, it is here reproduced in an English form, omitting only the introductory paragraph (see Appendix):

Hanes Taith John Evans yn yr America.
(History of John Evans's Journey in America.)

'. . . After overcoming various obstacles, he started on his journey from St. Louis, in August 1795, in the company of Mr. James Mackay, superintendent of the trade upon the Missouri river; and towards the end of the year he landed among a tribe of Indians called Mahas, about 900 miles up the Missouri, and wintered there. In February 1796 he recommenced his journey to the West, and advanced about 300 miles farther; but, finding that the Sioux Indians had assumed a warlike attitude, he returned to his previous station. In the following June he started again on the same route, and in August he landed among the Mandans and "the populous nations,"[1] 900 miles from the Mahas.

'"The Missouri," says he, "for 780 miles from St. Louis, meanders and assumes a beautiful fern-like form; it runs through delightful dales, and sometimes runs on each side of the hills as smooth as a board; but its general inclination is southward to the plains for about 1,200 miles. It is full of small islands, and receives various streams, from the Mandas, and the Pancas, which flows for 600 miles. The river (Missouri) has its own way, and rushes impetuously through mountains and hills full of mines."

'After surveying and delineating the river for 1,800 miles, he returned with the stream, in sixty-eight days, and reached St. Louis in July 1797, after an absence of nearly two years.

[1] The original has 'y Mandan a'r cenhedloedd bobliog.'

'With reference to the Welsh Indians, he says that he was unable to meet with any such people; and he has come to the fixed conclusion, which he has founded upon his acquaintance with various tribes, *that there are no such people in existence.*'[1]

The Spanish Commandant is said to have encouraged him to undertake a second journey, and to have furnished him with attendants, and the requisite appliances to make discoveries; but, whether this was so or not, he died of fever at St. Louis in that year, having heroically sacrificed his life in the vain pursuit of what he was ultimately led to believe did not exist.[2]

In the meantime, it had been positively ascertained by another Kymro, that the Padoucans were certainly not Welsh Indians; and a competent judge had declared that no Indian language resembled the Welsh. This comes out in the letter of the Rev. Morgan Rees: 'I have heard,' he says, 'many additional tales of the Welsh Indians. I have conversed with the acting partner in the Missouri Company. He has been among more Indians than any other white man on this continent. He knows nothing of the Welsh language; but, by my conversing in it, he could not say that he recognised the words or the idiom among the Indians north of the Missouri.

[1] *Greal neu Eurgrawn*, pp. 15, 16.

[2] Warrington's *History of Wales*, ed. 1823, vol. i. p. 566. Mr. William Williams, of Brecon, the publisher of this edition of Warrington, appends this note:

'The supposed existence of Welsh Indians in America has, for many years, elicited much discussion, and various but ineffectual attempts have been made to discover them. A very intelligent gentleman informed me, at New York, in the year 1819, that he corresponded on the subject with Mr. Evan Evans [John Evans signed his name Ieuan ab Ivan], who is well known to have gone over to America in search of them, and to have traversed the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific. His enterprising endeavours, however, were unavailing; he could find no trace whatever of any such people.'

He thinks the Padoucas are out of the question.'[1] At Mr. Rees's request he promised to assist John Evans in his search, if he happened to meet with him.

Other attempts to discover the Madogwys have been equally unsuccessful. The United States acquired possession of Louisiana in 1803, and soon afterwards sent out several expeditions to explore the extensive regions between the Mississippi and the ocean. The first and most celebrated of these, and that which bears most closely upon the present inquiry, was that of Captains Lewis and Clarke. They had special instructions to look out for the Welsh Indians.[2] They entered the Missouri at St. Louis, where it enters the Mississippi, May 14, 1804; reached the Mandan towns in Lat. 47° 21′ 47″ N. and Long. 99° 24′ 45″ W. from Greenwich, November 1; and remained there, 1,600 miles from St. Louis, until April 7, 1805; and during their stay completed, from the information of the Indians, a map of the whole country between the Mississippi and the Pacific, from Lat. 34° to 54.° They then continued the ascent of the Missouri till, on August 18, 1805, they reached its extreme navigable point, about 2,500 miles from its junction with the Mississippi. They then explored the portion that lay between them and the Pacific, remained in that country until March 27, 1806, and, returning, reached St. Louis on September 23.[3]

This expedition has generally been considered to have deprived the Welsh Indian tale of any foundation in fact. If

[1] *Cambrian Register*, vol. i. p. 379.

[2] Warrington's *History of Wales*, ed. 1823, vol. i. p. 507, publisher's note: 'Captains Lewis and Clarke were strictly directed by the American Government to make similar inquiries, but they were equally unsuccessful.—W. Williams.'

[3] I have taken these details from the article 'America' in the *Penny Cyclopædia*, p. 435.

[*Vide Travels to the Source of the Missouri River and Across the American Continent to the Pacific Ocean*, by Captains Lewis and Clarke, new edit. London: Longman & Co. 1817, pp. xii–xvii.]

the Morgan Jones story had been true, it would have been verified by a commission, of which a Lewis and, probably, a man of Welsh extraction, if not a Welshman, was the principal member: if there had been Welsh Indians on the Missouri, they would have been found by Lewis and Clarke: but they found no such people. It was the result of this expedition that changed the views of Southey; and most candid persons acquiesced in his conclusion, though the majority of the Gwyneddigion still affirmed the reality of the Madogwys.

While these events were taking place, the Kymric mind, both in Wales and America, was intensely excited, and but few persons were prepared for the negative result. An apt parallel was furnished in the course of the late Crimean War. When it became known that the allied forces had landed at Eupatoria, had defeated the Russians at the Alma, and had marched upon Sebastopol, most persons expected that the object of the campaign would speedily be accomplished; so that when the famous 'Tatar message' came, affirming the capture of that stronghold by assault, all Europe rejoiced at the news, and but few persons expected that thousands upon thousands would have to lose their lives before that result could be achieved. So in this case. Most Welshmen, being satisfied of the reality of the Madogwys, never doubted that they would be found; and no sooner was it known that the explorers had returned than it was concluded that they must have come in contact with the descendants of Madoc; and letters announcing the discovery as an accomplished fact were sent repeatedly, and in good faith, from Welshmen settled in America to their friends at home. One of these false messages is dated as early as 1752, when one Reynold Howells, living at Philadelphia, wrote to a Mr. Miles, saying:

'The Welsh Indians are found out; they are situated on

the west side of the great river Mississippi.'[1] It thus appeared that between 1660, when Morgan Jones said he preached to them on the Atlantic seaboard, and 1752, they had migrated westward; but we scarcely need observe that competent inquirers would have found as much difficulty in finding them here as in their first reported location. Howells' report proved to be a *canard*; and when, forty years later, John Evans started in search, the Madogwys had, in public estimation, settled themselves on the Missouri at a distance from St. Louis variously estimated at 400, 800, and 1,000 miles. His journey was watched with great anxiety by the Kymry, who lived in daily expectation of hearing the joyful news of his success; it was feared, from hearing nothing of him, that he had perished in the attempt; but no sooner was it known that he had returned than it was concluded that he must have met with the object of his search; for it was assumed as an established fact that there were Welsh Indians on the Missouri, and it was inferred, naturally enough, that John Evans would not have retraced his steps until he had found them. Letters written in this sense were sent to England; and one of them, in which the writer states his own hypothetical conjectures as facts actually ascertained by Evans, is a mythic curiosity. The letter was addressed to the Rev. Mr. Davies of Somersetshire, by a son of his, resident in America; and the purport of it, as given by Burder, was as follows:

'He states that a young Welchman is returned from a long journey which he has undertaken with a view to discover whether such a people existed as the Welch Indians. He saith, this person has discovered such a tribe, inhabiting the country west of the mouth of the Missouri about 700 miles; and they treated him with friendship and hospitality, and adopted him as their son. Their language is the old

[1] *Hanes y Bedyddwyr*, by the Rev. Joshua Thomas, p. xviii.—*Memoirs of the Rev. W. Richards*, p. 267.

British, and he particularly noticed the common words to be the same as are now in use in Wales to describe the same objects, such as houses, light, windows, water, bread, &c. &c. The history these Indians give of themselves is this, that their ancestors came from a far country, and landed at the mouth of the Mississippi from thirteen ships, about the year of Christ 1018; there they built a town; but since that period their descendants have been falling back to their present residence.'[1]

This seems at first sight to be a hoax; and the ignorance it displays of Welsh history, and of Indian life, to which windows and bread—both in fact and name, are alike unknown —warrants the supposition; but, seeing that it was addressed by a young man to his father, and that a similar incapacity to discriminate between fact and conjecture is repeatedly displayed in the statements made in reference to this Cambrian tradition, I conclude that it is a mythic narrative —an historic form given to a current expectation. The writer could have had no authority for his statement from John Evans, whose letters show that he knew the common date 1170; and the affirmation that the young man, meaning Evans, had fully accomplished the object of his journey was, as the sequel showed, a palpable misstatement.

The same imaginative tendency displayed itself again in reference to the expedition of Messrs. Lewis and Clarke, as appears from a letter addressed to the editors of the 'Greal' by Mr. J. W. Prisiart (or Prichard), of Plas y Brain, in Anglesey. 'Here,' says he, 'is a bit of a letter that came from Philadelphia, from the brother of a neighbour of mine.' Then follows the extract which I subjoin:

'Inform,' says the Philadelphian, 'William Jones, of Pont Ddu, that I intend to send him the history of the men who have been with the Welsh Indians at the farthest end of

[1] Burder, p. 27.

the Missouri. They have newly arrived in this State, but have not yet reached this city. Their history has been given in the newspaper here; and a book of the history is now being made. They (the Welsh Indians) live at the farthest end of the river Missouri, which they (Lewis and Clarke?) followed for four thousand miles from the Mississippi. They live at the other side of America, facing the Pacific Ocean. There are mountains in their country very rich in gold. Fifty persons started to discover the country, and but forty have returned. Five returned home when they had only gone half the way.

'William Williams,
'formerly of Mynydd Paris.

'Philadelphia, Oct. 6, 1806.'

To this the editors append the following remark:

'The travellers referred to went by order and at the cost of the Government; and the whole of the history, when it is published, may be implicitly relied on.'[1] The remark was just; but the expectation implied therein was destined to be disappointed. Captains Lewis and Clarke, though instructed to make inquiries for the Welsh Indians, failed to find any trace of that imaginary people.

Discouraging as were these results, the tenacity of the Kymric mind offered a firm resistance. Convinced, sorely against their will, Welshmen remained of the same opinion still. They had been far too profoundly impressed by what they heard and read to accept these negative results; the idea of the existence of the Madogwys, and the hope of discovering them, were far too grateful to the minds of my Cambro-brethren, and had been too fondly and sincerely cherished, to be relinquished without another effort; and, accordingly, fourteen years later, when the effect of these

[1] *Y Greal*, December 21, 1806, p. 303.

failures had, in some measure, passed away, the Kymry of America determined to have another attempt made to discover the Welsh Indians. It was, therefore, resolved to employ two men, named Roberts and Perry, to institute another search. In this case, also, the attempt proved equally futile. Roberts published, in the form of a letter, an interesting account of his inquiries; and I subjoin the narrative in a translation of his own words.

But it may be well, in the first place, to notice the expedition of Major Long, who was commissioned by the American Government, in 1819, to explore the region to the south of the Missouri. He started from Pittsburgh on May 5; but, when he was about to do so, Messrs. Roberts and Perry came to that place, on their route to St. Louis. They made known to him the object of their journey; and he informed them, in reply, that he had been advised by a Dr. Mitchell, of New York, to take a Welshman with him; that he would take them; and that General Clark, who was then Governor of the Missouri Territory, had informed him that the Welsh (Padouca?) Indians lived in a valley near the Rocky Mountains, but that he could not give much of their history. They agreed to meet Major Long at St. Louis.[1] Having met again at Cincinnati, the Major said, on reconsideration, that as his party would be divided on the way, he could only take one up the Missouri, but that the other might go with the other party to explore the Arkansas river. If he went near the place where the Kymry (Padoucas?) were thought to be, he would detach some of his men with one of them to visit the said Indians; but he said that he should prefer seeing them himself. They deferred acceding to this suggestion until they met at St. Louis, where they proposed

[1] Letter of Mr. J. T. Roberts to his friends at Utica, dated Pittsburgh, May 1, 1819; *Seren Gomer*, September 1819, p. 292. See another letter in the same volume, p. 201.

to visit General Clark;[1] and they ultimately resolved to stay at St. Louis until they should obtain some specific and reliable information. Major Long, however, did visit the region named as the residence of the Welsh Indians, namely, on the northern branch of the river Platte. This has been variously named Loup Fork and Padouca Fork. Major Long, with the main body of the explorers, visited there Pawnee villages; but he found no reason to believe they were Welsh Indians. From thence the party descended to the Platte, and followed it to the Rocky Mountains. In the meantime the other division explored the Arkansas, where Captain Stoddart placed the Welsh Indians; but on neither river were any such people found.[2]

An inquiry was made in 1821, in the November number of a Welsh monthly publication called 'Goleuad Cymru,' by a writer signing himself 'Myvyr,' as to the result of the mission of Roberts and Perry; and the following reply appeared in the same magazine for April 1822, with a very inappropriate, if not ironical, heading by the editor, the Rev. John Parry:

'A New, True, and Remarkable History respecting the Madogians or the Welsh Indians; which will serve for an admirable reply to the enquiry of "Myvyr Glandwrdwy."

'Mr. Goleuawr (i.e. Illuminator),

'A few weeks back I returned from the wilds of America, and saw in "Goleuad Cymru" an enquiry to this effect, viz. What became of the men who went from Utica and Stuben to seek the Madogians? And what assistance did they receive from Wales? I consider that it is my duty to reply to the

[1] Letter of Mr. Roberts dated Cincinnati, May 11, published in *Seren Gomer, loc. cit.*

[2] Major Long's *Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains*, in 1819-1820, by Edwin James. 3 vols. 8vo. London, 1823.

enquiry, as I and a young man named Perry were the persons selected for that purpose.

'About three years ago, there was no small commotion in Oneida County, North America, as well as in other places, among the Kymry, respecting the descendants of Madoc ab Owen Gwynedd. It was resolved that two men should go to the town of St. Louis, which is on the bank of the river Mississippi, a little below the junction of the Missouri with it, to make enquiries of the traders who deal with the Indians, as well as of their interpreters; and to proceed further, if they obtained any satisfactory intelligence there respecting them. The reason we went to St. Louis rather than to any other place was because the Western Indians are better known there than in any other place in America. Hundreds of them descend every summer with hides, tallow, buffalo tongues, sugar, &c. Also, scores of persons every year, from St. Louis and its vicinities, ascend the Missouri and Mississippi rivers, for thousands of miles, to trade with the Indians and to shoot.

'We started on our journey on the 14th of April, 1819, and reached St. Louis on the 28th of the following month. We saw there a great number of persons who had been thousands of miles up the Missouri; also, some who knew the languages of all the Indians located on the Missouri waters. I saw several who had been four thousand miles up that river, who had crossed the Rocky Mountains, and had descended the river Columbia to the Pacific Ocean.[1] They all said that they had nowhere seen a tribe of White Indians; but they had, before starting, heard much respecting them; and they expected to meet them on their journeys. Several of them said they had made many enquiries respecting them; but they were then of opinion that the White Indians did

[1] This was the course taken by Lewis and Clarke, the latter of whom was stationed at St. Louis in an official capacity.

not exist upon the Missouri, nor upon the rivers which flow into it. I saw several persons who had been residing many years among the Indians, very near the Rocky Mountains, where the Missouri has its source. They also asserted that such a people as the Welsh Indians did not exist. I saw two or more men who said they understood the language of the Padoucas, viz. those whom many consider to be the Welsh Indians; but *they did not understand a word of Kymraeg.* I made minute and diligent enquiries in St. Louis and its vicinities, for all who understood the languages of the Indians, which are very numerous, namely, the professional interpreters and others. I uttered to them Welsh words, such as *haul*, *lloer*, *ser*, *pen*, *troed*, *llaw*, &c. (i.e. sun, moon, stars, head, foot, hand); but no one of them understood one word.

'I saw many strange Indians coming there at various times; and I uttered to them various Welsh words; but they quickly put their fingers in their ears, to signify that they did not understand. I went to a printing office in St. Louis, and got them to publish in their newspaper various traditions respecting the Welsh Indians, and that two persons had come there in search of them; with an earnest request to their correspondents to give some account of them, if they could. These things appeared in other newspapers, from town to town, for hundreds of miles from thence to New Orleans, near the Mexican Gulf; but not a word was heard of their history. I read there the work of Colonel Stoddart, viz. "The History of the Western Parts of America." He said that [a few years before he wrote, sixty Indians, speaking the Welsh language, had visited the town of Nackitoches; and that][1] they dwelt on the Arkansas and the Red River under the name of Ietans

[1] The words in brackets do not occur in the original; they have been inserted to complete and give a clear view of Stoddart's statement.

or Alitans. I saw some who said they understood the language of these Indians; and I went to them expecting that I should be able to converse with them in my mother tongue; but they did not understand a word of Kymraeg.

'Therefore, on the whole, I failed to obtain any trustworthy information respecting the descendants of Madoc. I have now been satisfied, from the testimony of those who had traversed the country, that they do not dwell upon the river Missouri. Nevertheless, I am unwilling to conclude, in the face of all the statements made respecting them, that they do not exist. Still, I may boldly affirm that much that was said respecting them was untrue; for, if they had been within two or three thousand miles on the Missouri, I feel assured that they could not be unknown to persons whom I saw at St. Louis. I resided more than two years in that town and its neighbourhood; and my friend Perry ascended the Missouri for seven hundred miles, on other business. I heard from him the last summer.

'The contributions we received from Stuben and Utica were enough to pay our expenses to St. Louis; we received no assistance from Wales. It would have been easy to obtain further supplies if we had seen reason to proceed farther.

'After all, it is gratifying to reflect that there is one sure way to reach them (if they exist), if every other means prove unsuccessful, viz. by sending the everlasting Gospel to every nation under heaven. We have the assurance of the God of Truth that the Gospel shall come to every language, tribe, nation, and people. It would be well if energetic exertions were made to send the Gospel to the innumerable hosts of Indians inhabiting the wilds of America, who are now in profound darkness. Some missionaries and artisans have been sent to the west of the Mississippi; and the Lord has crowned their labours with a large measure of success. I in-

tend returning to America soon; and if I obtain any account of value respecting the Madogians, I shall not be remiss in sending it to my countrymen.

'I am, &c.,

'JOHN T. ROBERTS.[1]

'Rosa Vawr, near Denbigh: March 14, 1822.'

This letter, the original of which has been repeatedly published, reflects much credit upon its writer, and shows him to have been well qualified for the duty he had undertaken; and in the face of the facts therein stated, after the utter failure of such various and well-directed inquiries, it is very difficult to resist the conclusion that the Madogwys do not exist upon the Missouri. It had been repeatedly and confidently asserted that they were there to be found; but, after the publication of this letter, such assertions became evidently untenable, and thenceforth they were very generally discredited.

The last account I have seen of Roberts in connection with the discovery of Welsh Indians is contained in a letter which he sent from California, dated Sacramento City, November 17, 1857,[2] in which he states that a Mr. Gilman had told him, on the authority of an old Mormonite woman, that there were White or Welsh Indians to the south-west of the Salt Lake. On examination, the proofs resolve themselves into three:

1. That the Indians in question were religious, had a large meeting-house, and refused to be converted to Mormonism.

2. That they had red hair and light complexions.

3. That they spoke Welsh.

We shall speak of these again; and at present will only

[1] *Goleuad Cymru*, 1822, p. 410; *Seren Gomer*, 1822, p. 113; *Yr Ymofynydd*, March 1859; *Y Brython*, April 1859.

[2] Published in the *Amserau* newspaper, March 31, 1858. See Appendix.

remark that red hair is a rarity among Indians; that the Kymry are a dark-haired people, and that red hair, assuming the fact, would prove the said Indians to have descended from either Danes or Saxons rather than from any Kymric parentage. And then, as to the only point of any importance, namely, their speaking Welsh, that rests on the authority of the old woman: but who is to answer that she knew Welsh? We have seen from Roberts's former account that the Hietan Indians were said to have spoken Welsh; but an interpreter, whom he saw, said there was no resemblance between the two languages. So in this case we ought to have some better evidence than the story of an old woman, who may not have known Welsh herself, and that story told at third hand.

It thus appears that all attempts hitherto made by competent persons to discover the Welsh Indians have proved futile. It might, indeed, be suggested that the inquiries did not proceed far enough; that they did not display sufficient zeal; or that the Madogwys may exist in some other quarter; but the first objection cannot apply to John Evans, who visited the Mandans, nor to Captains Lewis and Clarke. Mr. Roberts, in the face of his discouragements, could not have been expected to proceed farther; and no other region offered so much promise as the banks of the Missouri. It, therefore, only remains for us to examine the evidences adduced, to see whether they afford a sufficient presumption in favour of the Madogian hypothesis. On careful examination, the evidences resolve themselves into four classes:

1. Statements manifestly fraudulent.

2. Statements irrelevant to the inquiry.

3. Evidences possibly capable of being otherwise interpreted; and

4. Positive affirmations, which, if true, prove the existence of Welsh Indians in America.

1. To the first class we may assign one of the assertions of

Mr. Binon; the statement of Stedman; the letter of Colonel Cochran; and the letter of Lieutenant Roberts.

(*a*) We have seen already that the idea of Madoc's tombstone originated in the fertile brain of James Howell; that the so-called 'epitaph' was first cited as the reference of a Cambrian bard to Madoc's seafaring predilections, and without any reference to a tombstone; and that the lines occur only in a poem composed in the middle of the fifteenth century. If, therefore, Mr. Binon affirmed that he had been shown a stone with an inscription in memory of one Madog, he must have told a manifest untruth; but it should be observed, in justice to this old gentleman, who, I am informed, was an eccentric 'Herbal doctor,' that the statement does not occur in Edward Williams's first account of the conversation, and may possibly not have been made by him.

(*b*) The assertion of Stedman, told at third hand, was not only false, but also displayed a considerable amount of ignorance on the part of all the parties concerned; for no Indian descendants of Madoc could have used the modern designation 'Great Britain.'

(*c*) The letter of Colonel Cochran was copied for Mr. Maurice Morgan, about 1763–5, in order to show Lord Shelburne. Mr. Morgan was a native of Pembrokeshire, and at that time occupied the important position of Under Secretary of State. He is known in the world of letters as the author of an admirable essay on 'The Character of Falstaff,' and was far too acute a critic to be imposed upon by such a clumsy fabrication. The assertion that the French priests had brought 'Old Welsh Bibles' from among the 'Welsh Indians' struck him at once as a falsehood; and he very properly told Lord Shelburne that the letter deserved no notice.

The suggestion of Dr. Williams that the Bibles may have been left by recent visitors was simply an indication of his

weakness and credulity, and was completely disposed of by the subsequent admission of Colonel Cochran to Mr. Morgan at New York, two or three years afterwards, that the letter was founded on a delusion.[1] Mr. Morgan was sent out to Canada by Lord Shelburne, afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne, to legislate for that colony, after its conquest by Wolfe in 1759, and cession by the French in 1763. He then served either in conjunction with or under the orders of Sir Guy Carleton.[2]

The statement of Mr. or Lieutenant Roberts presents evident marks of fabrication. An Indian would not have understood an oath, as we learn from the recently published work of Paul Kane, who affirms that the Indian languages contain no oaths;[3] the oath 'myn diawl' is therefore a fiction, and only serves to damage the character of the witness. Women among Indians occupy a degraded position; Indian chiefs felt insulted when Catlin proposed to paint the portraits of their 'squaws'; and the last thing an Indian would have spoken of would have been his *maternal* language. The name 'Asquaw' is simply a fabrication from 'squaw': there was no Indian tribe so called. No one who had heard of 'Lloegr' and 'Saeson,' words only used by Welshmen, could have been unacquainted with the designation 'Cymru.' The 'eastern' origin is at variance with all Indian tradition; the location '800 miles S.W. of Philadelphia' is simply the common formula, with a blundering substitution of S.W. for N.W.; and the assertion that the Indian chief spoke Welsh as fluently as a native of Snowdon simply proves that Mr. Roberts was shamelessly mendacious. Several instances

[1] Williams, *Farther Observations*, p. 24.

[2] Dr. Symonds, *Life of Morgan*, prefixed to the *Essay on Falstaffe*; Fenton's *Pembrokeshire*, p. 491; Hume's *History of England*, Ann. 1759–1763; Dr. Richards, *Gentleman's Magazine*, June 1791.

[3] *Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of North America.* London, 1859, p. 183.

occur of Europeans having adopted Indian habits, and of their sons having become chiefs; the names Clermont, Prettyman, Gillivray, and John Ross occur as those of Indian chiefs; Price, the Creek chief, and companion of Bowles, another Cherokee chief, was the son of a Welshman; and Oceola, the Seminole chief, was the son of a Welshman named Powell; but I fear that Mr. Roberts's story has not even this amount of truth. Were it a verity, other Welshmen living at Washington would have heard of, and known, the said Indian chief; but we find that they were wholly unconscious of any such circumstances as Mr. Roberts relates: as the Rev. Jenkin Davies, a Baptist minister, in a letter dated 'Washington Village, November 5, 1805' (the very year when Roberts made his statement), written in answer to inquiries respecting Welsh Indians, states that he had heard much in England and America of such a people; but that he had no surer information respecting them than the statement of a South-Walian named Richards, who said he had seen Welsh Indians, but that he did not understand them very well, because they talked North Wales Welsh! A companion named Jones understood them better; but he had been killed in trying to make his escape from other Indians.[1]

That some such hoaxes were perpetrated and imposed upon the credulity of the Welsh Indophilists is abundantly clear. A letter dated February 21, 1819, appeared in the 'Courier' newspaper a few days afterwards, was thence copied into the 'Cambrian,' and thence again translated for 'Seren Gomer.' It was signed 'Owen Williams,' professedly a fur trader from Baltimore, then in London, and it affected surprise that anyone doubted the existence of the Welsh Indians. The writer said he had traded with hundreds of them; they lived on the Madooga river, in latitude 40°, and longitude 80°, spoke purer Welsh than the Kymry, were

[1] *Seren Gomer*, 1818, p. 342.

named Brydones and Madogians, could read well, had many MSS., and their religion was a compound of Christianity and Druidism! This highly-coloured narrative excited suspicion; and, on inquiry at the 'Courier' office, it was found to be in a handwriting known to Roberts of Llwynrhudol as that of a 'mother's accursed,' and thought to be Dr. John Jones.[1] Another letter, signed 'H. Phillips, Bridgend, Glamorganshire,' was published in the 'Carmarthen Journal' for March 23, 1821; it related the discovery by 'a gentleman' of twenty-six Welsh Indians in Indiana; but the editor of 'Seren Gomer' thought it looked very like Owen Williams's letter, and declined to copy it.[2] As the letter of Owen Williams was the original authority respecting the Brydones, I need not allude to them any further.

I am, therefore, of opinion that all these statements must be eliminated from the inquiry.

2. We come, in the next place, to consider the assertions of Sutton, Rimington, Gibson, and Chisholm. The latter does not affirm that he knew Welsh, or had heard Indians speaking it; but simply that he had been among 'White Indians,' and that a Padouca chief had a book, which he thought was a Romish missal. Mr. Gibson does not affirm that he knew Welsh; neither does it appear how he came to suppose that the Indians he knew spoke 'Welsh.' Mr. Rimington saw strange Indians, whom someone declared to be 'Welsh' Indians; but Jack Hughes, the interpreter, does not appear to have confirmed the statement; and Benjamin Sutton heard a Welshman named Lewis speaking to some Indians; but Lewis does not seem to have said that they were 'Welsh'; nor does Sutton seem to have understood the language of the Kymry.

3. The evidences of the third class are less open to

[1] *Seren Gomer*, 1819, pp. 93, 136; *Cambro-Briton*, vol. i. p. 62.
[2] *Seren Gomer*, 1821, p. 122.

objection on the score of untruthfulness; but it may be doubted whether they do not admit of explanation on some other hypothesis. There are Indians of many colours—yellow skins, cinnamon-coloured, tawny, and copper-coloured tribes; and there are *albinoes*, or persons with white hair, eyelashes, and skins among several of these tribes; but these are exceptional instances, and no conclusion can safely be drawn therefrom. There are pictorial skins among these tribes, but they are not Bibles; and, indeed, the 'Bibles' may be said to dissolve when the assertions respecting them are closely examined. The 'Brydones' had a Bible; but then there were no Indians of that name; they and their Bibles were the figment of the brain of 'Owen Williams.' Captain Davies's Mud Indians had a 'manuscript Welsh Bible'; but if the two statements of his evidence be compared, it will be seen that the MS. story appears in only one of them. Truth, when twice told, will be consistent; but falsehood varies. The nameless captive clergyman who saw a 'Welsh Bible' is admitted to be the *alter ego* of the Rev. Morgan Jones; but, as Mr. Jones mentions no such thing, the 'Bible' must have been a fictitious addition. And Colonel Cochran's 'Old Welsh Bibles' are admitted to have been delusive coinages of heated imaginations. We can, therefore, only admit the existence of pictorial documents; for it is abundantly clear from other facts that the North American Indians were wholly unacquainted with books and letters. The Indian languages have no names for these things. When the Scriptures came to be translated into their languages, it was found necessary to give new meanings to their words, and to introduce English words where the Indians had nothing analogous. Thus, in translating Daniel v. 24, 25, vi. 9, and John xix. 19, it was found necessary to use the Indian word for *painting*, i.e. *wussuk*, to denote writing and written; and in translating Matt. i. 1, 2 Kings v. 9, and xxii. 8, it was

found necessary to transfer the English word *book*, as the Indians have no such word or thing.

The monuments on the Ohio and Missouri, the coloured pottery, *quasi* Welsh castles and churches, religious traditions, and civilised arts, are also facts; but whether the Madoc theory is the only possible solution of their existence will form the subject of further remark. One account ('Seren Gomer,' 1818, p. 317) speaks of 'Roman coins' found in Kentucky about 1815; but Catlin does not seem to have heard of them, and I know of no sufficient authority for the statement.

4. Lastly, we have a considerable number of testimonies in favour of 'Welsh-speaking' Indians. These may be ranged under two heads, viz. direct and indirect evidences. Of these the second class consists of the statements of persons who did not themselves understand Welsh, but who say that they heard Welshmen conversing with Indians in a language which the Welshmen affirmed to be Kymraeg. And some of them are still further removed from direct testimony.

(*a*) In the 'indirect' class we may place the letter of the Rev. Morgan Rees, 'a respectable inhabitant of Kentucky,' who wrote to the Rev. Dr. Richards of Lynn, and stated, on the authority of 'a report' in that country, that a Welshman among an exploring party met with Indians with whom he could talk. It is not said expressly that the conversation was in Welsh,[1] but that is implied; and 'they exceeded him, as not being so corrupt in their language.'

Captain Chaplain heard two Welshmen converse with Indians in Welsh at Kaskaski; Captain Davies heard Welshmen converse with the Mud Indians; Mr. Willin had Welsh settlers at Natches who understood the Indians, and affirmed that they spoke Welsh; Sir John Caldwell had

[1] Burder, p. 11.

Welshmen in his company who affirmed the language of the Pawnees to be Welsh; Davey, the companion of Captain Stewart, made the same assertion of the Indians of the Red River; General Bowles's Welsh friend and Mr. Price's father said that Welsh was the language of the Padoucas.

In these cases the evidence is all secondary, and does not rest upon the authority of our informants. They seem to have had no means of testing the accuracy of the assertions made to them, and it is, therefore, within the range of ordinary possibilities that they might have been deceived.

(*b*) The 'direct' testimonies are those of the Rev. Morgan Jones and Mr. Binon. The narratives attributed to the 'clergyman' and Morris Griffith are evidently amplifications of Jones's statement respecting the Doegs, and may be set aside; so that for our purpose the original statement is alone available. That was made by a Welshman who had graduated at Oxford, and professedly rested on his own experiences. He was qualified to judge as to what was or was not Welsh; and his statement must necessarily be either strictly true or manifestly false, for it cannot be placed on any intermediate ground.

The statement of Mr. Binon is equally direct; but his qualifications do not seem so satisfactory. He is reported to have said that he had heard Indians speaking purer Kymraeg than was spoken in Glamorganshire; but it was admitted that he could not read the 'Indian Welsh'—if he could read at all; and as he left Wales when very young, and before he had learned any alphabet, and remained away thirty years, we may reasonably be a little sceptical as to his competency to speak of the purity of 'Indian Welsh.' Indeed, there is only evidence at third hand that he knew Welsh at all; and it must be quite apparent that his statement betrays an acquaintance with the famous narrative of Jones, and that of Jones's other self, the 'clergyman' and 'prophet,' who was

said to have interpreted the MS. Bible—which did not exist.

The assertions of Stedman and Oliver Humphreys may also appear to be direct evidences; but the first is very suspicious, if not positively false; and the second, in affirming that the 'pirate' learnt the language of an Indian tribe, with whom he could have had but little communication, and that in a very short space of time, makes a large demand upon our faith. Still, it is possible that both may have a slight substratum of fact.

It is thus seen that the whole of the direct evidence collapses, and all that remains is that of the Rev. Morgan Jones. That is evidently connected in some way with the statements of Stedman and Humphreys, for they all refer to the same locality, and they are nearly coincident in date. Jones says his adventure took place in 1660; Stedman's occurred about 1674; and Humphreys died a little before 1704. But Jones published no account of his marvellous 'discovery' for upwards of twenty-five years (i.e. not until 1686), and Stedman and Humphreys became first known to us in 1704. Did Stedman borrow from Jones? Did both Jones and Stedman find a vague story of this sort floating about in America, and appropriate it to themselves? Or was there any peculiarity about the Indians of Cape Hatteras?

The internal evidence of Jones's letter is very unsatisfactory. The date, 1660, is at least ten years too early; for the introduction of the name West—namely, that of Joseph West, —shows that Jones had but a confused knowledge of the facts to which he refers; and his historical perspective is so indistinct that he has represented as one combined movement three independent expeditions, separated by intervals of two and four years, starting from opposite points, and directed to three different places. The first of these was an expedition

set on foot by the planters of Barbadoes. They had sent a party to inspect the coast of Carolina in 1663; and two years afterwards, Sir John Yeamans, a needy planter, led a band of emigrants, and effected a settlement on the south side of Cape Fear.[1] In the following year (1666) the north part of Carolina was constituted into a regular settlement by Sir William Berkeley, the Governor of Virginia.[2] And in January 1670 a considerable number of emigrants left England under the auspices of the corporate body called 'Proprietaries,' who claimed under a Royal Charter the possession of a great part of North America. They were conducted by one Joseph West, as agent for the Proprietaries, and by William Sayle, as governor of the settlement they intended to effect. They touched at Bermuda, or, as some improperly say, at Barbadoes, and settled themselves at Oyster Point, now Charleston—so called from Charles II.[3] This, it is evident, was the expedition referred to, and the Rev. Morgan Jones had some indistinct knowledge thereof; but it is difficult to believe that a man who described three distinct settlements as only one, and antedated a comparatively recent event by ten years, was recounting his personal experiences; and the truth seems to be that he had only a hearsay knowledge of these events. Even if we assume the true date to be 1669, that would still be a full year too early, and leave other difficulties unexplained. He may have been chaplain to General Bennet of Nousemund (not Mansoman) County; but as the Virginians had nothing to do with the Oyster Point settlement, he could not have been sent there as minister; and, besides, that settlement was not neglected. A glance at a good map will show that a journey from Oyster Point to Roanoke, at that time, was an arduous undertaking; and as Yeamans, who succeeded Sayle in the following year,

[1] Bancroft, *Hist. United States*, vol. i. p. 450, Routledge's edit.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 472–75.

was already settled to the north at Cape Fear, there was no necessity for risking so perilous an adventure.

At the next stage, Jones's narrative appears to receive some confirmation from the Autobiography of George Fox. There does not appear to have been any actual war between the Tuscaroras and the settlers in North Carolina in or about 1660 or 1669; but the relations between them appear to have been unfriendly; and Fox states that, when he was there in 1672, the Emperor of the Tuscaroras 'was come' to Captain Batts, the Governor of Roanoke, 'to treat of peace.'[1]

Upon the same authority we learn that one of their chiefs was friendly to the whites; and hence the intervention on behalf of Jones might be explained, without assuming that the Indian chief was of Welsh origin. Fox paid them a visit, and preached to them by means of an interpreter; and their young king, with others of their chief men, seemed to receive kindly what he said to them. At another meeting, in the same district, there was 'an Indian captain who was very loving, and acknowledged it to be truth that was spoken. There was also an Indian priest, whom they call a Pawaw, who sat soberly among the people.' This 'loving captain' may have been the person who befriended Jones, assuming the truth of his story; but no sooner do we concede this than we are involved in another difficulty. The head-quarters of the Tuscaroras were on the river Neuse, in the centre of North Carolina. This river, like the Pamlico, falls into Pamlico Sound; but it is difficult to believe that the Doegs were in alliance with the Tuscaroras, or located near Cape Hatteras; for we read that the Hatteras Indians were called Yeopims;[2] and we know that in early maps of North America the Doegs or Doogs are placed considerably to the north, in Virginia, between the Potomac and the Rappahanoc, a little

[1] Fox's *Journal*, vol. i. pp. 173, 174.
[2] Bancroft, vol. i. p. 449.

to the eastward of the falls on the latter river.[1] Hence we may conclude that they were Algonquins rather than Iroquois, and that they acknowledged the authority of the successors of Powhattan rather than that of the 'Emperor' of the Tuscaroras. We have now a considerable amount of information respecting the Algonquin and Iroquois class of languages, and are enabled to affirm that these Indians neither did nor could speak Welsh.

Another fact unfavourable to Jones's credit is his parenthetical reference to the Doegs, 'whose original I found (or find) must needs be from the Welsh (or Old Britons).' The Rev. Theophilus Evans inferred from this that Jones was unacquainted with the asserted discovery of America by Madoc; but to me it seems that this ignorance was affected, in order to give his narrative an air of truth, and of unexpected discovery; for the ignorance of a Welshman, and a student of Jesus College, Oxford, of this national tale is incredible, especially when it is considered that the literature of that period was full of it, and that a considerable number of the following works were published before he left Wales, viz.:

Powel's 'Historie of Cambria,' 1584; Hakluyt's 'Voyages,' 1589, 1599–1600; Purchas's 'Pilgrimage,' 1613, 1614, 1617, 1626; Sir Thomas Herbert's 'Travels,' 1634; Howell's Letter, dated 1630, published in 1645; also Letter dated 1654, published 1655; Charles Edwards's 'Diffyniad y Ffydd,' 1671 (Oxford, 1677). Thomas and Charles Lloyd knew of it before 1682, and the latter possessed Powel's 'History.'

It is, therefore, highly improbable that Jones was ignorant of what every other Welshman of education knew, and held in much estimation.

The pathetic incident in Jones's story is also provocative of suspicion, and it is not improbable that the real solution

[1] Thornton, *Maps and Charts of North America*, folio, 1704.

is this: that the Rev. Morgan Jones has claimed for himself an adventure that befell Captain John Smith, often named the 'Father of Virginia.' The story is told by the hero himself, in his 'True Relation' of events connected with the colonisation of Virginia, printed in 1608; it is abridged by Bancroft,[1] and is repeatedly referred to in Thackeray's 'Virginians.' Penetrating into the interior, with some companions, in the year 1604, along the Chickahominy river, they were taken prisoners by the Indians. His companions were put to death; but he, preserving his calmness, awed the Indians by the display of a pocket compass, and by exhibition of superior knowledge. The Indians were for some time undetermined what to do with him; but, after practising incantations for three days, after many consultations and delays, and after postponing several resolutions to put him to death, the ultimate decision was referred to Powhattan, the 'Emperor of the Country,' whose residence was then in Gloucester County on York River. Here Smith's manners interested Natoaca or Metoaca, better known by her title Pocahontas, the daughter of Powhattan, a young girl twelve years old, who, when the uplifted tomahawk was about to descend upon him, sprang towards him, clung firmly to his neck, and entreated the Indians to spare the agreeable stranger, that he might make hatchets for her father, and rattles and beads for herself, the favourite child. This saved his life; Smith remained among them for some time; he learned the Indian language; and when he had succeeded in establishing peaceful intercourse between them and the colonists, the Indians dismissed him with mutual promises of friendship

[1] *Hist. United States*, vol. i. p. 99, Routledge's edit. [Captain Smith's collected works have recently been reprinted by Mr. Edward Arber, in his *English Scholar's Library*, 1884. The deliverance by Pocahontas is not mentioned in the *True Relation* of 1608, but is first mentioned in the *Generall Historie of Virginia* &c. published in 1624. See Arber's reprint, p. 400.]

and benevolence.[1] We have here all the prominent features of Jones's narrative; and it is not improbable that Captain Smith was the real hero of the adventure, which Jones perverted to his own use, and the deception of his countrymen. Else, how is it that none of the many Welshmen in America had known of this adventure?

It is said by the Rev. John Williams (Ab Ithel), whose essay on the Madoc question has been published in the 'Cambrian Journal,'[2] that about the middle of the seventeenth century a Captain Jocelyne published a 'History of Virginia,' giving a similar account of an adventure among the Tuscaroras and Doegs; and that the story is told in Jocelyne's words in the 'Turkish Spy,' vol. viii. p. 205; but the 'Spy' in the place cited does not make any reference to Jocelyne or any other authority. The letter in the 'Spy' bears the fictitious date 'Paris; the 2nd day of the 11th moon, in the year 1682,' and, if the letters were genuine, would indicate some earlier authority than Jones, whose narrative is dated 'New York, March 10, 1686.' In that case 'Jocelyn' might stand for 'John Smith'; but, in reality, the letter affords traces of an acquaintance with Jones's narrative, in the reference to the Tuscaroras and Doegs; and as the volume was published in 1694, after Jones's story had been made known in England and Wales, this involves no difficulty. As this curious old collection is of somewhat rare occurrence, the letter is here subjoined. The letter purports to be addressed 'to Kerk Hassan, Bassa,' and, after describing King Charles II., England, and the Popish plot, the writer says:

'This *Prince*, as I said before, has several *Nations* under his Dominion; and, 'tis thought, he scarce knows the just extent of his *Territories* in *America*. There is a region in that *Continent*, inhabited by a *People* whom they call *Tuscaroras*

[1] [Arber's edit. pp. 400, 531.] [2] [Vol. for 1859, p. 104.]

and *Doegs*. Their language is the same as is spoken by the *British* or *Welsh*; a *Nation* that formerly possessed all the *Island* of *Great Britain*, but were driven out of it into a Mountainous Corner of the *Island*, where their *Posterity* remain to this Day.

'These *Tuscaroras* and *Doegs* of *America* are thought to descend from them, being the *Posterity* of such as follow'd the Fortune of one *Madoc* a *British Prince*, who, about Five or Six Hundred Years ago, being discontented at Home, resolv'd to seek Adventures Abroad. Wherefore, being provided with Ships, Men, and all other Necessaries, he made a Voyage towards the *West*, over the *Atlantick* Ocean, not knowing what would be the Event of his Undertaking. However, the *Moon* had scarce twice completed Her Voyage through the *Zodiack*, when an end was put to *His* on the *Sea*, by landing in *America*, where he planted a *Colony* of Britains, and then returned to his native *Country*. But soon after he put to sea again, and sailed directly to the same place. What became of him afterwards is not certainly known. But the inhabitants of that *Province* [Wales? or America?] have a *Tradition, that he lived to a* Great Age, *and saw his people multiplied to many Thousands, before he died.* For in the Second Voyage he carried over *British* Women with him for the sake of *Posterity*. They show his Tomb to this Day; with *Beads*, *Crucifixes*, and other *Reliques*. It is certain that, when the Spaniards first conquer'd *Mexico*, they were surpriz'd to hear the Inhabitants discourse of a strange People that formerly came thither in *Corraughs*, who taught them the knowledge of *God* and *Immortality*; instructed them also in *Virtue* and *Morality*, and prescribed *Holy Rites* and *Ceremonies* of *Religion*. 'Tis remarkable, also, what an *Indian* king said to a Spaniard, viz., "That in Foregoing Ages, a Strange People arrived there by Sea, to whom his ancestors gave Hospitable Entertainment; in regard they found them men of Wit and Courage, endued also with many

other Excellencies. But he could give no account of their original or Name." And *Montezuma, Emperor of Mexico*, told *Fernando Cortez*, the *Spanish* King's *Ambassador*, and *General* in those *Parts*, "That his own *Ancestors* Landed there as Strangers, being conducted by a certain Great Man, who tarried there a while, and then departed, having left a considerable number of Followers behind him. After a Year, he returned again with a greater Company; and that from *Him* the *Emperors* of *Mexico* derived their *Pedigree*, and his subjects from the Rest." The British Language is so prevalent here, that the very Towns, Bridges, Beasts, Birds, Rivers, Hills, &c., are call'd by British or Welsh names. And a certain Inhabitant of *Virginia* (a *place* subject to the *King* of *Great Britain*), straggling not long ago into the *Wilderness*, by chance, fell among a *People* who according to some *Law* or *Custom* of theirs condemned him to Death; when he, in Hearing of them, made his *Prayer* to *God* in the British Tongue; upon which he was Releas'd.' [1]

These 'Letters of a Turkish Spy' were the work of a Scotchman named John Cleland. The work alluded to as 'Jocelyne's History of Virginia' was probably one of the curious publications of John Josselyn, who paid a visit to New England in 1638–9, and another in 1663–71. He published his impressions of the country in two works, viz.: 'New England's Rarities Discovered,' 8vo. 1672, 1674, 1675; and 'An Account of Two Voyages to New England,' 12mo. 1674. From pp. 123 to 144 of the latter work, he describes the inhabitants of New England and Virginia, and speaks of many of their customs as resembling those of the Ancient Britons; but they are not called by him *Welsh* Indians. The author seems a little credulous, for he tells us that some frogs,

[1] *The Turkish Spy*, London, 1694, vol. viii. Book 3, Letter 12, p. 202.

when they sit upon their breech, are a foot high'; and that 'barley frequently degenerates into oats.'[1]

There is, indeed, a semblance of an earlier authority for the existence of Welsh Indians than Jones's narrative. After Penn had obtained a cession of land in America, in 1681, it is said that he endeavoured to induce his Quaker friends in England and Wales to join him in founding a new settlement; that, in or about 1682, an Address to this effect was circulated among the Quakers in South Wales; that in this it is reported to have been said that many credible accounts had been received of the discovery among the Indians of a people who spoke Welsh, and who were supposed to be the descendants of Madoc's Colony; and that the discovery was attributed to some of Penn's own attendants.[2] I have searched in vain for this Address; but think it in the highest degree improbable that Penn ever issued any document containing these assertions, which would have been utterly at variance with his deliberately expressed opinion that the American Indians were the descendants of the lost tribes of Israel.[3] We also have letters from Welshmen in Pennsylvania, of about the same date, which speak of their Indian neighbours, but give no hint whatever as to their being of Welsh origin.[4] On the contrary, they exclude any such supposition, as an extract from one, written in the year 1705, will clearly show:

'He (Penn) also bought the freehold of the soil from the Indians—a savage race of men, who have lived here from

[1] *Notes and Queries*, April 6, 1861; 2nd series, vol. xi. p. 267.

[2] Ab Ithel; *Cambrian Journal*, 1859, p. 105.

[3] Clarkson, *Life of Penn*, vol. i. p. 397. Letter, dated August 16, 1683: 'For their original, I am ready to believe them of the Jewish race, I mean of the stock of the ten tribes.' 'The passage is not impossible from the easternmost parts of Asia to the westernmost of America.' The latter was a bold and sagacious conjecture: it is now known to have been true.

[4] *Y Greal*, 1806, p. 210; *Y Gwyliedydd* for 1831, p. 15; *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine*, vol. iii. p. 141.

time immemorial, as far as I am able to understand. They can give no account of themselves, not knowing whence or when they came here—an irrational set I should imagine; but they have some kind of reason too, and extraordinary natural endowments, in their peculiar way. They are very observant of their customs, and more unblamable, in many respects, than we are. They had neither towns nor villages, but lived in booths or tents.'

Penn's Addresses in the years 1681, 1682, and 1683, frequently mention the Indians, but only to enjoin a fair and just treatment of them by the emigrants. A large number of Quakers from Wales joined in the 'Holy Experiment,' influenced by the religious persecutions at home, and the hope of greater liberty of conscience in the Free Democracy of Pennsylvania; and it was the intention of Penn to name his settlement New Wales, after the analogy of New England —an intention frustrated by a Welshman, Blathwayte, the Secretary of Charles II.[1] A misconception of these facts formed the only basis for the story of the Address.

But, it may be asked, is it probable that such a story as that of Jones could have been a pure invention? Even on this point it is not difficult to suggest an unfavourable answer. Roanoke, it will be observed, figures prominently in Jones's narrative; and at Roanoke there had been several early settlements of Europeans. Pamlico Sound and Roanoke Island were explored by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1584; and a colony under one Ralph Lane was settled there in 1585, with the sanction of the Indians, who treated the whites in a very friendly manner. One of these, named Hariot, displayed the Bible to the natives, and explained its truths; and they, revering the Book rather than its doctrines, embraced it, kissed it, and held it to their breasts and heads, as if it had been an amulet. The colony was visited by Sir Francis Drake in 1586; and the colonists,

[1] Clarkson, *Life of Penn*, vol. i. p. 279; *Dixon*, do. p. 228.

being ill-provisioned, and having become despondent, induced him to take them away. In the meantime, Raleigh, mindful of their wants, had sent a vessel with supplies; but it arrived a few days too late. In another fortnight Sir Richard Grenville came with three well-provisioned ships; and, finding Lane had departed, he left a second colony of fifty men at Roanoke, as guardians of English rights. Raleigh, ever chivalrous, sent another band of settlers in 1587, under one John White, who, on his arrival, found that Grenville's men had been murdered by the Indians; but a friendly chief named Manteo, by the command of Raleigh, received Christian baptism, and was named Lord of Roanoke. As the time came for the departure of the ship, this colony also became despondent, and urged White to return and bring back reinforcements. He left his grandchild, born there, and named from the place of her birth, VIRGINIA, at Roanoke; and the colony then consisted of eighty-nine men, seventeen women, and two children; but more than a year elapsed before White could return; and then Roanoke was a desert. An inscription on the bark of a tree pointed to Croatan, but no search was then made for the settlers. Raleigh, however, was more zealous. Five several times he sent parties to search for his liegemen; but they were never found. It has been conjectured that the deserted colony were hospitably adopted into the tribe of the Hatteras Indians (Jones's Doegs), and became amalgamated with them. The traditions of the natives at a later day affirmed this to be the fact; they said their forefathers could 'talk in a book'; and this statement has been thought to derive confirmation from the physical character of the tribe, in which the English and Indian seem to have been blended;[1] for the Hatteras Indians have grey eyes, and therein differ from all the other tribes.[2]

[1] Bancroft, *Hist. United States*, vol. i. pp. 70–82.

[2] Lawson, *Voyage to Carolina*, p. 62.

There is no evidence that I am aware of, whether there were or were not any Welshmen among these colonists; but it must be evident that this colony, and the tradition respecting its fate, have an important bearing on the narrative under consideration. If this tradition was known to Jones, it might have suggested the idea of a Welsh origin for the Hatteras Indians. In any case, his narrative ceases to have any relevance to the Madoc legend; for the Hatteras Indians, even if they had a few Welsh words among them, would have been descendants of Raleigh's colonists, not of Madoc and his followers. The truth or falsehood of Jones's narrative does not affect this conclusion. If he really was at Oyster Point, and attempted to make his way through the wilderness, it is not improbable that some such incident may have occurred; for the Indians, steeped in superstition, would naturally respect the sacred office of a clergyman, as they revere their own 'mystery man,' and the Hatteras Indians would be more likely to do so than any others. But the essential part of Jones's story, the assertion that an Indian chief addressed him in Welsh, and that he preached *in Welsh* to the Doegs, three times a week, and for four months, must have been a falsehood, and may have been intended as a hoax. The simplicity of the Welsh character favoured its circulation; the stern Puritanical logic, that knows nothing but absolute truth or malignant falsehood, naturally led them to place implicit confidence in the formal affirmation of a minister of the Gospel; and the lore of the antiquary gave 'confirmation strong as holy writ' to a fiction and a deliberate untruth.

An examination of the American languages strengthens this negative conclusion. The statements made in reference to 'Welsh Indians' point in three directions, namely, to the Mexican frontier, to the Missouri, and to the east of the Mississippi. Reserving the first class for further consideration, we will now deal with the others. On the Missouri we have

the Padoucas; and on the eastern side of the Mississippi we have the Doegs, and the people who descended to Illinois, who most probably belonged to the great Chippeway nation.

1. The Padoucas are now extinct, and their name only survives in Paducas Fork; but, though they were confidently affirmed to be Welsh Indians, and though Mr. Binon said they spoke Welsh to him with remarkable purity, it is quite manifest that the assertion was untrue. John Evans ascended the Missouri in the belief that they were Kymry, but discovered that no race on that river spoke Welsh, and concluded that the Welsh Indians did not exist. The Rev. Morgan Rees met a gentleman who knew the Padouca language, and found that the Padouca had no resemblance to Kymraeg. Mr. J. T. Roberts met persons who knew Padouca, but they did not understand one word of Welsh. This is, therefore, tolerably conclusive evidence, and we may safely dismiss them from our consideration.

2. The occupants of the region about Cape Hatteras and Pamlico Sound, improperly called Doegs by Jones, but better known as Yeopims and Nanticokes, spoke a dialect of the Algonquin language, as also did the Chippeways; and both may therefore be classed under that head.

A great deal of absurdity has been spoken and written respecting the languages of the North American aborigines. Governed by preconceptions as to the origin of the inhabitants, many persons have affirmed that the speech of the new continent sanctioned each of several discordant theories. William Penn, who was imbued with the belief that the lost ten tribes of Israel (whose descendants probably still occupy the shores of the Caspian Sea) had found their way to America, considered the language to have a striking resemblance to the Hebrew; a Jew named Montesini said he had heard an American Indian repeat in Hebrew the words in Deuteronomy: 'SCHELAH ISRAEL ADONAI ELOHENU ADONAI

Ehad,' '*Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord*'; and one Rabbi Manasseh wrote a book entitled the 'Hope of Israel' in favour of this assumption.[1]

The learned Grotius, who favoured the theory of a Scandinavian settlement, said there was a striking affinity between the languages of the Germans and the North Americans.[2] Bishop Nicholson thought the Welsh formed the basis of all the Indian dialects; and others quite as confidently assert that the aborigines spoke the (Irish) Erse or Gaelic language. Several persons said the Pawnees spoke Welsh, but some Scotch Highlanders said they understood them, *ergo*, that they spoke Gaelic; and a gentleman from Quebec confirmed the statement. Nor was the Gaelic confined to the Pawnees;[3] for it is also said to have been spoken by the Mexicans; and a Captain Drummond gravely affirmed that he heard a Mexican woman singing Erse to her child.[4] Are not these assertions quite as strong as anything urged in favour of the Welsh Indians? If we believe one class of assertions, why may we not believe all? Comment upon such statements

[1] Basnage, *Appendix* to the English translation of Jahn's *Hebrew Commonwealth*, vol. ii. p. 309.

At the Spanish Missions, as well at the Convent of Caripi as at the Orinoco, in Peru as well as in Mexico, the opinion was generally entertained that the American languages have an affinity with the Hebrew; in the North of America, among the Choctaws and the Chickasaws, travellers, somewhat credulous, have heard the strains of the Hallelujah of the Hebrews (*L'Escarbot*, *Charlevoix*, and even *Adair*, *History of the American Indians*, 1775, Humboldt's *Travels*, vol. i. p. 324, Bohn's edit.).

'The American languages show the infancy of language; the mechanism is all exposed to view. They are in marked contrast to all inflected languages.'—Humboldt, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 327, Bohn's edit.

[2] *De Orig. Gent. Americ.*, cited by Basnage; *Op. cit.* vol ii. p. 313.

[3] ['De savants linguistes ont constaté une ressemblance singulière entre la langue irlandaise et le dialecte algonquin.'—M. Gaffarel, *Les Expéditions Maritimes des Irlandais au Moyen-âge*, quoted in *Revue Celtique*, vol. ii. p. 433.]

[4] Williams, *Farther Observations*, pp. 19, 30.

would be superfluous. Let me, therefore, offer the reader something more scientific.

The languages of the North American Indians have been carefully studied, and have been found to resolve themselves into eight distinct forms of speech, all of which converge towards a common centre in the north-western part of the continent, where it is separated from Asia by Behring's Strait.[1] These are:

(1) The Algonquin language; (2) the Iroquois; (3) the Sioux; (4) the Catawba; (5) the Cherokee; (6) the Uchel; (7) the Natchez; and (8) the Mobilian language.

The latest researches, indeed, reduce these to three, namely, Algonquin, Iroquois, and Floridian; or, according to Latham, into two, the Algonquin and the Floridian, the latter including the Sioux, Iroquois, and the five others.[2]

These have all certain characteristics, which are thought to distinguish them from all other languages, and to constitute a distinct family. With one exception, they all exclude the letter *l*; the Algonquins have no *f*, and the Iroquois no *m*. All, without exception, had no alphabet, and could not write. They are mostly destitute of pronouns, they have no abstract terms, and cannot express *father*, *son*, *master*, *tree*, *house*, without compounding them with relative terms. The doxology could not be translated literally, and had to be rendered thus: 'Glory be to *our* Father, and *his* Son, and *their* Holy Ghost'; the verb *to be* cannot be used abstractly, but is made to include space and time; an Algonquin cannot use any verb in a simple form, nor say *I love*, or *I hate*, without saying also in one word whom he loves or hates; nouns, adjectives, and pronouns are all joined together, and cannot be used separately; they have no simple adjectives, nor have they

[1] Prichard, *Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations*, p. 6; Latham's *Supplement*, edit. 1857, p. 22.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 24.

distinctive genders for male and female, but only for animate and inanimate objects, and the compound words are simply aggregations—patchwork, in which the component parts remain distinct and heterogeneous. A few words may serve as specimens. Thus the sentence, '*Give me your pretty little paw*,' would be expressed in one word, namely, *kuligatschis*, which would be compounded of *k*, thou or thy; *uli*, part of *wulit*, handsome or pretty; *gat*, a part of *wichgat*, a leg or paw; and *schis*, a word expressive of littleness; and a gesture would supply the place of the verb. The conjugation of the verb, however, shows a much higher development; and the multitude of ideas which it is often made to express has often excited much surprise and admiration. But here, also, the synthetic character predominates; and the phrase, '*I do not like to eat with him*,' would be expressed in Algonquin in the one word *N'schingiwipoma*. The conjugation of the verb presents some points of analogy with other languages; but in their general features the American languages, judging from the Algonquin, the best known of them, have a distinct and peculiar character.[1]

With respect to their philological affinities, authorities differ. Du Ponceau, who made this polysynthetic class the subject of careful study, thought they were quite independent of, and had no affinity with, any others; and Bancroft believes them to have no other affinities than such as arise from the similarity of the organs of speech;[2] but Mr. Johnes thinks differently, and affirms that, both in their vocabulary and their grammar, they are related to the primitive language of mankind;[3] and I am inclined to think that he has made out a tolerably strong case in favour of that assumption. He

[1] Bancroft, *Hist. United States*, chap. xxii.

[2] Du Ponceau, *Système Gram. des Langues Indiennes*, &c.; Bancroft, *loc. cit.*

[3] Johnes, *Philological Proofs of the Unity and Recent Origin of the Human Race*, chap. vii.

thinks, however, that the resemblances are generic rather than specific, and that they afford no presumption whatever in favour of any recent connection with the Kymric language.[1]

These languages, therefore, the languages of a people who cannot sound *r* and *m*, who have no *f*, and, with one exception, have no *l*; who cannot sound either Madoc or Llewelyn; languages which have no separable pronouns, nor abstract nouns, and whose words are aggregations, not regular compounds, can have no specific affinity to the language of the Kymry. And, therefore, the question of the Welsh Indians, considered as it formerly stood, and in reference to the numerous statements made respecting them, admits only of a negative reply. We can have no hesitation whatever in coming to the conclusion that none of the several tribes mentioned spoke anything at all resembling Kymraeg; and that, in a word, no such people as Welsh Indians do now or ever did exist.

The inflexibility of the Indian character is also opposed to the idea of a European origin. The Indian, accustomed to live by the chase, and free from all social or legal restraint, spurns the idea of labour, as being both an evil and a disgrace. His pride and his indolence alike dispose him to offer an invincible resistance to every advance of civilisation. He retains his opinions, and the most insignificant of his habits, with a degree of tenacity which has no parallel in history. For two hundred years the wandering tribes of North America have had daily intercourse with the whites, and they have never derived from them either a custom or an idea. 'The Indian,' says De Tocqueville,[2] from whom I have taken these statements, 'will never conform to civilisation'; if so, will it be patriotism to affirm his descent from the family of Owen Gwynedd? Mackenney and Hall, who spent many years among them, paint the picture in still darker colours: 'All

[1] Johnes, *op. cit.* p. 165.

[2] *Democracy in America*, vol. ii. pp 282, 296.

the Indian tribes, under every variety of climate, were alike stationary and improvident. Ages passed by and made no impression on them; the experience of the past and the aspirations of the future were alike unheeded; and they lived only in and for the present. Their history is utterly lost in the darkness which precedes authentic records among other nations: it rests, and probably ever will rest, upon the Indians, for no Indian tradition is of any value whatever that extends back further than fifty years.'[1] If these pictures are truthful—and that they are admits of no doubt—will any of my countrymen be bold enough to acknowledge an affinity, and to proclaim the Indians to be worthy descendants of the Ancient Britons?

In deference to the prejudices of many of my countrymen, I have gone thus patiently through a large mass of details, and have refuted the belief in Welsh Indians with all becoming gravity; but in sober seriousness, and in justice to the higher intelligence of Wales, I ought to remark that the stories told of these people have long been known to be false, and felt to be foolish. John Evans, in searching for them, became convinced of their non-existence. The Rev. Walter Davies distinctly states that not only the narrative of Morgan Jones, but 'several others of a later date, turned out to be complete fictions.'[2] Mr. J. T. Roberts, as we have seen, spoke to the same effect. The Rev. Thomas Price still more strongly says that these were 'empty and thoughtless assertions—naked and designed falsehoods';[3] and the Rev. Robert

[1] Condensed from their *History of the Indian Tribes*, a sumptuous work, in 3 vols. folio, published under the auspices of the United States Government, vol. iii. pp. 12, *et seq.*

[2] *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine*, vol. i. p. 440 (1829).

[3] *Hanes Cymru*, p. 591. 'Am y cyf-brofion diweddar, am gaffhad llwyth y Madawgwys yn America, y mae cymmaint o *hacriadau gwag*, *ac amhwyllog* wedi eu gwneud a'u hail-adrodd, a chymmaint *o gelwyddau nocth a bwriadol*, wedi eu ychwanegu attynt, a bod gofyn

Williams is equally candid. 'Many accounts,' he says, 'have been published within the last seventy years of the supposed discovery of tribes of Indians bearing Welsh names, and even speaking in purity the Welsh language. Such statements, however, are not entitled to a moment's consideration.'[1] But, having a lingering faith in the reality of the Madogwys, and apparently unconscious of the fact that John Evans had visited the Mandans, he continues: 'Yet the probability is in favour of Madog's claim, which has lately been confirmed by Mr. Catlin, the American traveller, who is convinced that he found the descendants of the Welsh immigrants in the Mandans, an amiable and civilised tribe, with which he resided for a considerable length of time, and became intimately acquainted; and he has described in detail their manners, customs, ceremonies, and peculiarities.'[2]

Mr. Catlin is the only stay of the Madogwys that now remains, and it should be admitted that he is the most respectable witness that has yet appeared on their behalf. His book is replete with interest, and his account of the Mandans the most pleasing part of the work. He is therefore entitled to a candid hearing. It appears to have struck him at once that the Mandans were radically different from other Indians, and that they were either a different people, or a mixture of a civilised with a native race. They appear, from mounds and traces of encampments, to have ascended the Missouri from the eastern sea-board, and to have been settled on the Ohio. They had a kind of pottery and blue glass peculiar to themselves, had coracles like the Welsh, and spoke a language which he considered had a resemblance to Kymraeg. Madoc is said to have landed at Florida, and to have probably ascended the Mississippi; and in Mr. Catlin's opinion the

ar y neb a gymmero y testun hwn mewn llaw fod yn wyliadwrus iawn rhag cael ei gam-arwain.'

[1] *Eminent Welshmen*, art. 'Madog.' [2] *Ibid.*

Mandans were the descendants of these Cambrian settlers; for Mandan, he thought, had an appearance of being a derivative of Madawgwys, and *mandon*, he says, is a Welsh word for a red colour, a kind of madder, of which these Indians are very fond.[1] These are all arguments that assume the point to be proved, and it is evident that Mr. Catlin shines more as a pictorial than as a critical writer. With the exception of the remarks about the language, the whole hangs upon the supposition that Madoc landed at Florida; and that supposition rests only on the conjecture of Humphrey Llwyd, that, by order of cosmography, Madoc *must have* landed at Florida or Newfoundland—that is, at nearly the same point as Columbus. But this falls to the ground of itself, if Dr. Powel's idea be adopted that he landed in Mexico. It may be admitted that the Mandans ascended the Missouri, and were the remains of a civilised race; but it may also be urged that Madoc's colony were neither the only nor the most probable settlers from whom they could have sprung. The native races to the south—for instance, the Aztecs—might have sent forth this colony, which from other indications seems to have come from a more southern country. Or, if the indications of a European origin were clear, as they certainly are not, might not a Spaniard say that they were the descendants of the colony which Columbus left at San Domingo, and which had disappeared when he came a second time? This we know to be a fact; but there are, as we have seen, good Cambrian critics who think the Madoc narrative has no foundation in reality.

Let us see, in the next place, whether the test of language will furnish any proof of a more conclusive character. The derivation of Mandans from *Madawgwys* may be dismissed at once; that is out of the question; the Kymry have no word for 'madder,' and the Welsh word *mandon* means, not madder,

[1] Catlin's *North American Indians*, vol. i. p. 206, and vol. ii. pp. 259–261.

but dandriff! If there be one characteristic more than another which a Welsh colony would preserve, it would be their name; but these people, so far from calling themselves Kymry, said their name in their own language was *See-pohs-ka-nu-ma-ka-kee*, or 'the people of the pheasants,' a designation that cannot possibly have been applicable to Wales in the twelfth century, but might with propriety have been applied to Mexico.

Mr. Catlin found a striking similarity between certain Mandan pronouns and the corresponding words in Welsh, and his table is here subjoined:

| *English.* | *Welsh.* | *Mandan.* |
|---|---|---|
| I | Mi | Me |
| You | Chwi | Ne |
| He | A | E |
| She | E | Ea |
| It | Hwynt | Ount |
| We | Ni | Noo |
| They | Hwna / Hona | Eona |
| Those ones | Y rhai hyna | — |
| No, or, There is not | Nagoes | Megosh |
| No | Nage / Nag / Na | — |
| Head | Pen | Pan |
| The Great Spirit | Mawrpenaethir | Mahopeneta. |

But it must be evident, to anyone who examines these columns with a critical eye, that the writer had only a very imperfect acquaintance with the Welsh language or even the Welsh pronouns, and that several of his parallels must be rejected. Thus, the Kymric language has no neuter personal pronoun; *hwynt*, given as the equivalent of *it*, is really

the third person plural, *they*; and *hwna* (masculine), *hona* (feminine), are really two forms, not of *they*, but of the demonstrative pronoun *that*. The compound *Mawr-penaethir* is formed in opposition to the genius of the Welsh language, in which the adjective follows the noun; and, if allowed, the initial *p* would undergo the regular mutation into *b*; for the Welsh would be either *Penaeth Mawr* or *Mawrbenaeth*.

These Mandan pronouns have already attracted the attention of an able philologist, namely, our countryman, Mr. Arthur James Johnes. He added a column of 'other Asiatic and European analogies;' and arrived at a conclusion somewhat different from that of Mr. Catlin, which, as it has a direct bearing on this inquiry, may be here transcribed. 'By some of our countrymen,' he says, 'it has been sanguinely maintained that the descendants of a body of Welsh, who left their country under Prince Madoc in the twelfth century, may be still traced by affinities of language among the North American Indian tribes. Struck by the resemblance he has detected, Mr. Catlin has been led to favour the same conclusion, and to suggest that the Mandans may probably be shown to be the descendants of the lost Cambrian colony! But the examples selected by this writer, however creditable to his accuracy and research, do not tend, as he suggests, to prove the existence of a specific connection between the Welsh and the Mandans! This will be evident from the words contained in the right-hand column, which have been added by the author of this work. An examination of the whole comparison will serve to show clearly that though, in most of the instances he has noticed, the resemblance displayed by the Mandan to the Welsh is a close one, in many of them it displays an equally close affinity to the Latin and Greek; while, in some, this North American Indian dialect totally differs from the Welsh tongue, and at the same time agrees with other languages of the Old World.

Many of those examples which precede the comparison are also illustrations of the principle that the Mandan, like other North American Indian dialects, exhibits a general resemblance to all, and not a specific relation to any one of the Asiatic and European tongues.' [1]

We have thus the assurance of a competent linguist that Mr. Catlin's 'proofs' do not establish a specific connection between the Mandans and the Kymry.

The other resemblances are equally illusory; the vocabulary of this tribe presents no analogy to Kymraeg; and the Mandan canoe, as figured by Catlin (vol. ii. p. 138, pl. 240), has no resemblance to the Welsh coracle. Finally, John Evans, a Welshman fully competent to decide this point, spent a winter among the Mandans, but found no reason to believe that either they or any other Indian tribe were of Kymric origin. Messrs. Lewis and Clarke had similar opportunities for judging of their affinities; but they never suspected them to be Welsh Indians; and our own examination has now proved, beyond any possibility of a doubt, that Mr. Catlin was mistaken.

I have already intimated that the archæological remains are evidences of a more authentic and important character; and we have now to consider their bearings upon this inquiry. The Kymry have never been famous for their castrametation or their pottery; and it remains to be seen whether these remains can be more satisfactorily accounted for in any other way.

Much has been said of White Indians; the Moravian missionaries had heard of such persons; the Rev. Morgan Rees considered that the various concurrent evidences respecting them were worthy of credence, and it may be assumed that there was a tribe of Indians to whom this designation was not altogether inappropriate. The accounts generally point

[1] Johnes, *Philological Proofs* &c. p. 165.

towards the Mandans; and the statement of Mr. Catlin, that one in ten of the Mandans, especially of the female sex, had *cheveux gris*, grey, and in some instances perfectly white hair, as also light complexions,[1] places this beyond a doubt; but this affords no support to the Madoc narrative; for whether we regard this, with Mr. Catlin, as an ethnographic peculiarity, or attribute it, with Mr. Johnes, to their settled habits, or, what is still more probable, if we consider them to be 'albinoes' and exceptional instances, the result to us is the same, since the Mandans could not have had any specific affinity to the Kymric race.

The archæological remains lead to the same conclusion. The pottery found on the Ohio, the remains of ancient buildings, and the skulls found in the old sepulchral mounds and burial places, afford no trace whatever of European affinities or of high civilisation;[2] but they may be assumed to have belonged to the ancestors of the Mandans, and they point unmistakably to a connection with the ancient inhabitants of Mexico and Peru. The skulls have been by competent authority pronounced to be Mongolian,[3] and not Caucasian, as they should have been (according to Blumenbach's classification) to suit our Kymric story; and they have been found to resemble very closely the Mexican and Peruvian skulls preserved in ancient mounds further south.[4] Even Mr. Catlin found the Mexican features to prevail among the Missourian Indians, as also in Mandan paintings;[5] and Pickering unequivocally refers all the North American Indians to the Mongolian type.[6] The pottery also closely resembles that of the old inhabitants of Mexico; and the ruined buildings,

[1] *North American Indians*, vol. i. p. 94.
[2] Bancroft, *History of the United States*, vol. ii. p. 920.
[3] Pickering *On the Races of Man*, p. 37.
[4] Bancroft, *History of the United States*, vol. ii. p. 920.
[5] Catlin, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 193.
[6] Pickering, *ubi sup.*

remarkable alike for their large proportions, purity of taste, and refined ornamentation, can only be referred to those partially civilised races who reared the stupendous temples of Central America.[1] Even the traditions of existing tribes point in the same direction. The Choctaws on the Mississippi referred their origin to the west of the Rocky Mountains, from whence the Mexicans deduce their origin, and where the Flathead Indians still retain the abandoned Choctaw custom of depressing the skull;[2] the Natchez Indians expressly claim for themselves a Mexican origin;[3] of a civilised tribe located north-west of the Missouri and St. Pierre (probably the Mandans) Captain Carver said they were supposed to be some of the different tribes that were tributary to the Mexican kings, and who fled from their native country, to seek an asylum in these parts, about the time of the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards;[4] and the Chichemecs, on the Mississippi, retained in their new settlement the name of a tribe well known in the history of Mexico.[5] It is not improbable, also, that the Toltecs, flying before the Chichemecs, might have executed a movement resembling that of the Crimean Kimmeroi flying before the Scythians; and that when they left Mexico, in 1050, they turned their faces northward and eastward, while the Chichemecs descended on the western side of the Rocky Mountains: for the peculiar letter '*l*' was preserved among the Mandans and the Iroquois, and the law of succession among the Iroquois and Ojibbeways shows them to have been akin to the Toltecs and Aztecs.[6]

[1] Humboldt's *Travels* (Bohn's edit.), vol. ii. p. 309.

[2] Catlin, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 112.

[3] Bancroft, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 876.

[4] Cited by Dr. Williams, *Farther Observations*, p. 36.

[5] Bancroft, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 921.

[6] Wilson, *New History of the Conquest of Mexico*, London, 1859, pp. 62–68.

Following these indications, we now turn our backs on the North Americans, and proceed to the Mexican frontier. This is marked by Mr. Catlin as 'hostile ground,' and the climate is fatal to Europeans; but, as we travel only in imagination, we need be under no apprehension of Indian assaults or bilious fever. This is the direction indicated by Captain Stewart; his light-complexioned and red-haired Indians probably were the Pueblos, or civilised Indians of the province of New Mexico, which are said by Humboldt to number twenty-four tribes; they live in towns or villages. Seven hundred miles up the Red River would have brought him to its upper course, where it is called Rio de Pecos, probably his river Post, where the Pueblos may be found. Again, on the west side of the Rocky Mountains are the Moqui Indians, who may stand as the representatives of the Mactotantes, in whose name Mr. Edward Williams thought he detected that of Madoc. They may be considered together.

The population of Mexico or New Spain is thus classified by Humboldt:

(1) Gachupines, or persons born in Europe; (2) Creoles, or Whites born in America; (3) Mestizoes, descendants of Whites and Indians; (4) Mulattoes, descendants of Whites and Negroes; (5) Zamboes, descendants of Negroes and Indians; (6) Indians of the indigenous race; and (7) African Negroes.

The Indians form two-fifths of the whole; they have the same leading character as the North American tribes; and, like them, have many different languages. Of these, said to be twenty in number, fourteen have been studied, and have grammars and dictionaries; but that which is most widely distributed is the Aztec or Mexican.

Some of these Mexican tribes have made considerable advances in civilisation; and those located in New Mexico, as well as those who dwell between the rivers Gila and Colorado,

to the south-west of the Great Salt Lake, and to the east of California, invite especial notice. The district occupied by the latter was formerly called the Province of Moqui; but the Moquis are now (1860) only a subdivision of the Apaches, located north of the Colorado and south of the San Juan. They live in towns, and have asserted their independence of the Spaniards since 1680. Some Spanish priests visited them in the year 1773, and found there ruins of extraordinary extent, and corresponding in character to the architecture of the Aztecs or old Mexicans. They wore clothes, and lived in villages, where they cultivated the soil. On the Rio Yoquesila, lat. 36°, Father Garces said he found an Indian town with two great squares, houses of several stories, and streets well laid out in parallel directions. Every evening the people assembled on the terraces which formed the roofs; and these edifices in construction resembled the Aztec remains on the Rio Gila.[1] They cultivate cotton, maize, gourds; and the former article is used in the manufacture of blankets among the Moquis and Navajoes. These are said to be excellent in quality, are dyed in brilliant colours, and so close in texture as to be impervious to rain. It was of a Navajo blanket that an old negro woman at Fort Leavenworth declared, 'That is a Welsh blanket, I know it by the woof';[2] but in the Indian blanket the warp was of cotton, which is not usual in real Welsh flannel; and the resemblance extends no further than this woof. The Moqui are said to have five *pueblos* or towns; and this tribe, says Ruxton, is known to the trappers and hunters of the mountains as Welsh Indians. They are said to be much fairer in complexion than other tribes; and, like the Navajoes, to have among them several Albinoes, perfectly white, with Indian features, and with light eyes and hair. All this, however, is only hearsay evidence, as Ruxton did not

[1] Humboldt, cited in Bell's *Geography*, vol. v. p. 603.
[2] Ruxton, *Adventures in Mexico*, p. 195.

visit the Moqui district. A surer criterion would be that of their language, if it were sufficiently known; but at present the 'doctors' differ respecting it. Humboldt pronounces the language spoken by the Moqui, and other Indians on the Rio Colorado, to be essentially different from the Mexican; but Ruxton says that all the Indians of Northern Mexico, including the Pueblos, belong to the Apache family, understand each other's tongue, and speak dialects of the same language, all analogous in structure, and more or less approximating to the Apache, which, it was his impression, would be found to assimilate greatly to, if not to be identical with, the Mexican.[1]

Notwithstanding the vagueness of the information given respecting the Moquis, they form the last stay of the Welsh Indian tradition. The trapper friends of Ruxton pointed to them; Mr. J. T. Roberts, in California, heard statements to the same effect; and it seems to have been an accepted belief among the Mormon settlers that the Moquis were the descendants of Madoc and his reputed colonists.

Brigham Young told Captain Jones, one of the most astute of his lieutenants, on the authority of a nameless 'man of good character,' that there was a Welsh settlement on the Rio Colorado; and a trader named Barney Ward told Jones that the Moqui spoke Kymraeg; but Ward himself was not a Welshman, and his informant was a man who knew 'a few words only' of the Welsh language. The captain himself had heard much of Madoc and his colonists; had read in a Wesleyan publication at St. Louis that there were Welsh Indians on the Iroquois river in the state of Illinois; and had heard of traces of supposed Kymric settlers in the mounds of the Ohio, where monuments had been found showing that the dresses worn were of a *Roman* form, and exhibiting a mermaid playing upon the harp! He had heard, besides, of their

[1] Ruxton, *op. cit.* p. 194.

having ascended the river of Taunton in Massachusetts 'in ten floating houses,' and having settled themselves after defeating the natives; and he felt convinced there was some truth in this tradition. Where there was so much smoke, he said, there must be some fire. He commenced a journey in 1851 to the Colorado, with the view of exploring that river, and of visiting the Moquis; but he returned without having accomplished the last object, and without making any addition to our knowledge of the Welsh Indians.[1] An abortive attempt was made in America, in 1858, to collect subscriptions for a mission to the Welsh Indians, but it was very properly distrusted;[2] and until Captain Jones visits the Moquis and discovers them to be Kymry, we need not trouble ourselves with Mormon tales.

The most civilised, however, of the Indian aborigines of New Spain are those who are located on the Rio del Norte, in the province of New Mexico, and who, from their living in towns, are called Pueblos. They attracted attention as early as 1583, when Antonio de Epejo gave a graphic account of them. This was copied by Hakluyt,[3] and has been repeatedly used to show that they were Welsh Indians.[4] They were recently visited by Lieutenant Ruxton, and his account confirms that of Epejo. They cultivate the soil more assiduously than even the New Mexicans themselves, dress leather of various kinds, breed cattle and fowls, rear corn, grapes, fruit, and roses, make fine mantles of cotton dyed blue and white, and have curious kinds of feather work.

[1] *Udgorn Scion* (a Welsh Mormonite publication), vol. iii. pp. 220, 257. ['Captain' Dan Jones was very well known in South Wales a generation ago, and was a brother of the redoubtable '*Jones, Llangollen.*']

[2] *Y Bardd*, a Welsh American periodical (Minersville, Pa. 1858).

[3] Hakluyt, *Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 311.

[4] Dr. Williams, *Farther Observations*, p. 37; J. S. Jones, *Seren Gomer*, 1818, p. 297.

They inhabit houses built of stone and lime, several stories high, and in the flat-roofed architectural style of their Mexican progenitors; and they retain in secret many of the religious rites of the Aztecs, though they are nominally Christian.[1] I do not find any notice of books or pictorial skins among them; but such pictorial skins existed among the North American Indians;[2] and the Aztecs, though neither they nor any of the American tribes had any alphabet, were famous for their hieroglyphics.[3] It is, therefore, quite credible that some Pueblos may have shown some hieroglyphic document to Captain Stewart; for such remains have been found even in recent times; but the art of deciphering them is lost both to the natives and Europeans.

Nothing definite can hence be deduced in proof of the existence of 'Welsh Indians'; but these civil arts of the Moquis and the Pueblos show them to have been akin to, if not descended from, the former occupants of the country; and the same presumption arises with respect to their language. Hence, in pursuing this inquiry, the next question that presents itself is, Who were the Aztecs or Mexican aborigines?

This naturally leads us to consider the suggestion of Dr. Powel. If Madoc did not land at Florida, might he not have landed in Mexico? If it be hopeless to think of finding Welsh Indians on the Missouri, are there not proofs that the British language was spoken in the territories of Montezuma? Let us see. Powel, Herbert, and Howell give a list of Mexican words supposed to be of British origin, of which the most striking were *Corroeso*, the name of an island; Cape *Bryton*; and *pengwyn*, the name of 'a bird with a white head.'

[1] Ruxton, *Adventures in Mexico*, pp. 190–194.

[2] Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 881; Catlin, vol. i. p. 148.

[3] Lardner's *Cyclopædia: The Western World*, vol. i. p. 25; Bancroft, *loc. cit.*

Let us examine these. The island is supposed to bear a kindly and poetical name, the equivalent of 'welcome'; but in the Spanish orthography *Curaçoa* does not look or sound particularly like the Welsh word *groesaw*; and it is known to be a South American name for the sun.[1] Cape Breton is a better example; but, unfortunately for Powel's argument, the island of Cape Breton is thirty degrees too far east, and twenty degrees too far north, to be included in any part of Mexico; and it received its name, not from the Madogwys, but in or about the year 1504, from a colony of Armorican Bretons.[2] Lastly, the word *pengwyn* proves equally deceptive; for the bird so called has a *black* instead of a *white* head, as also all the birds of that genus; and hence, as an eminent naturalist, our countryman Pennant, pointedly observes, 'we must resign every hope founded on this hypothesis, of retrieving the Cambrian race in the new world.'[3] The other words mentioned by Herbert, Howell, and others, are equally illusory. I do not know to what localities *craigwen*, white rock, and *gwenddwr* [fair water] are intended to apply; but these words, with *tad*, father, *wy*, egg, *buwch*, cow, *bara*, bread, *dwr*, water, *trwyn*, a nose, *pryd*, time, and *clugar*, a heathcock or partridge, may be at once denied any claim to a Mexican character; for we are informed by Clavigero, himself a Mexican, and therefore a good authority, that the consonants *b*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *r*, *s*, have no place in the Mexican language. The vowel *w* is peculiar to the Kymric speech; and the word *llwynog*, a fox, lies open to the additional objections that the

[1] Johnes, *Philological Proofs*, p. 18.

[2] Bancroft, *History of United States*, vol. i. p. 12. 'Within seven years of the discovery of the continent, the fisheries of Newfoundland were known to the hardy mariners of Brittany and Normandy. The island of Cape Breton acquired its name from their remembrance of home, and in France it was usual to esteem them the discoverers of that country.'

[3] *Philosophical Transactions*, cited by Robertson, vol. i. p. 370.

Mexican word is *coyotl*; that the letter *l* never begins a word in this or any of the American languages;[1] and that the Kymric and Iberian *ll* only occurs in the words *llanos* and *llama*, introduced by the Spaniards. On the other hand, the old Mexicans had the letters *ch*, as sounded in chill, chair; and *q*, *x*, and *z*, which are unknown to the Welsh language. It must therefore be quite apparent that the Aztec speech had no affinity to Kymraeg; and a few words thereof, noted in reading Prescott's 'History,' will place this beyond any reasonable doubt.

| | *Kymraeg.* | *Aztec.* |
|---|---|---|
| Woman | Benyw | Cihuatl |
| White | Gwyn | Iztac |
| White-woman | Benyw wen | Iztac-cihuatl |
| Serpent-woman | | Cioa-coatl |
| [Child of the] *Sun* | Haul | Tonatiuh |
| Moon | Lleuad | Meztli |
| A Hill | Bryn | Popo |
| Smoking-hill | | Popo-catepetl |
| Flowers | Blodau | Milco |
| Field of Flowers | | Xochimilco |
| Water | Dwr | Huac |
| Root | Gwraidd | Cimatl |
| Place | Lle | Calli, callan |
| Place of bread | | Tlaxcallan |
| Place of worship | Addoldy | Teocalli |
| Paper | Papur | Amotl |
| Book | Llyfr | Moxtli |

The grammar of this language suggests the same conclusion, and, when considered in reference hereto, all the languages of New Spain, as well, indeed, as those of all America from its northern to its southern extremity, resolve

[1] Humboldt's *Travels*, vol. i. p. 322.

themselves into two classes, monosyllabic and polysynthetic. The first class, or the Othomite, spoken by the tribes located on the shores of the Pacific Ocean, has a remarkable affinity to the Chinese, and Pickering affirms the people to be Malays. All the other languages, widely different as they are in their vocabularies, have the same organisation—namely, that peculiar synthetic structure which distinguishes every dialect throughout the whole continent from the land of the Esquimaux to Tierra del Fuego. This consists in a curious mechanism, which brings a great number of ideas within a small compass, and condenses whole sentences into a single word. A few examples were given in speaking of the North American dialects; and two words will suffice to illustrate the flexibility of the Mexican language. The sentence, 'Venerable minister of God, that I love as my father' is expressed in the one word *Notlazomahuczteopixcatatzin*; and the still more comprehensive word *Amatlacuilolitquitcatlaxtlahuitli* signifies 'the reward given to a messenger who bears a hieroglyphic map conveying intelligence.'[1] This, most certainly, is not the language of the Kymry.

We are thus thrown back upon what the Rev. R. W. Morgan calls 'the family traditions of the Mexican kings.' Herbert's account of these is much exaggerated; and the most modest statement is that of Powel, who says that Montezuma confessed in his speech to the Mexicans, spoken in the presence of Cortes, that the Mexican rulers 'descended from a strange nation that came thither from a farre countrie.' This statement of itself would not prove much; and, even if correct, would fall far short of justifying Mr. Morgan's bold statement that 'it clearly proved their descent from Madoc and his followers.' But, in the first place, let us see if this was what Montezuma really said, or is reported to have said by the Spanish chronicles. On such a point as this Prescott,

[1] Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico*, vol. iii. p. 324.

the historian of the 'Conquest of Mexico,' is, in the republic of letters, considered to be the highest authority; and he reports the speech in these terms. Montezuma was at this time a kind of prisoner in the Spanish quarters; and in compliance with the demand of Cortes, that he should recognise the supremacy of the Spanish Emperor, he called his nobles together and thus addressed them:

'They were all well acquainted, he said, with the ancient tradition, that the great Being, who had once ruled over the land, had declared, on his departure, that he should return at some future time, and resume his sway. That time had now arrived. The white men had come from the quarter where the sun rises beyond the ocean, to which the good deity had withdrawn. They were sent by their master to reclaim the obedience of his ancient subjects. For himself, he was ready to acknowledge his authority.'[1]

This has not the remotest reference to the *descent* of the Mexicans. It is a tradition of an Aztec god who had once ruled in that country, and who, having left it, was expected to return, just as King Arthur, or King Cadwaladr, was in olden times expected to reappear in Wales. This differs essentially in its character from the representation of Powel and Herbert, and it affords no support whatever to the Cambrian tradition. But, as the subject is interesting, I will pursue it a little further. The name of this god

[1] Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico*, vol. ii. p. 168 (Bentley's edit. 1850). Robertson, *History of America*, vol. ii. p. 332. Another speech, differing from this both in argument and spirit, was published in the *Public Advertiser*, September 23, 1790, by an anonymous 'Columbus,' in a letter to the Right Hon. William Pitt; but, whether seen by the writer in Mexico or not, it is a manifest forgery, and Dr. Williams (*Farther Observations*, p. 35) certainly mistook its purport when he thought it countenanced the Cambrian story; for, in assigning the origin of the Mexicans to 'a northern country,' it could only have pointed, in accordance with all Mexican traditions, to the north-west of the Rocky Mountains.

was Quetzalcoatl, and Prescott gives this account of him:

'A far more interesting personage [than the Mexican Mars, Huitzilopochtli] in (Mexican) mythology was Quetzalcoatl, god of the air—a divinity who, during his residence on earth, instructed the natives in the use of metals, in agriculture, and in the art of government. He was one of those benefactors of their species, doubtless, who have been deified by the gratitude of posterity. Under him the earth teemed with fruits and flowers, without the pains of culture. An ear of Indian corn was as much as a single man could carry. The cotton, as it grew, took, of its own accord, the rich dyes of human art. The air was filled with intoxicating perfumes and the sweet melody of birds. In short, these were the halcyon days which find a place in the mythic systems of so many nations in the Old World. It was the golden age of Anahuac.

'From some cause, not explained, Quetzalcoatl incurred the wrath of one of the principal gods, and was compelled to abandon the country. On his way he stopped at the city of Cholula, where a temple was dedicated to his worship, the massy ruins of which still form one of the most interesting relics of antiquity in Mexico. When he reached the shores of the Mexican Gulf, he took leave of his followers, promising that he and his descendants would revisit them hereafter; and then, entering his wizard skiff, made of serpents' skins, embarked on the great ocean for the fabled land of Tlapallan. He was said to have been tall in stature, with a white skin, long dark hair, and a flowing beard. The Mexicans looked confidently to, and kept a continual watch by a holy fire for, the return of this benevolent deity, throughout the wide borders of Anahuac; a general feeling seems to have prevailed, in the time of Montezuma, that the period for the return of the deity and the full accomplishment of his promise was near at

hand; and this remarkable tradition, deeply cherished in their hearts, prepared the way for the future success of the Spaniards. Even after the conquest it still lingered among the Indian races, by whom it was fondly cherished, as the advent of their King Sebastian continued to be by the Portuguese, or that of the Messiah by the Jews.'[1]

This superstition respecting Quetzalcoatl and his expected return remains in the interior of Mexico to this day among the descendants of the Aztecs, who are now known as the Apache Indians. The Pueblos, who are a branch of the Apaches, retain the rites of their ancestors; the sacred fire in honour of this deity is still kept burning in a solitary cave, and its dim light is often seen by the wandering hunter. Even when nominally Christian, the aged and devout of both sexes cling in secret to their ancestral rites; they are often seen on the tops of their flat houses, with their earnest gaze turned to the rising sun; for from that direction they expect, sooner or later, that the beneficent 'god of the air' will make his appearance.[2] The only point of analogy is found in the statement that this divinity was a white man, wearing a long beard, and that he came from the East, to which he returned, and from which he is expected to appear again; but it must be borne in mind that Mexican traditions have come down to us through the hands of Christian, and not very scrupulous, monks; and, if we assume him to have been Madoc, we must contest the accumulated 'proofs' of Father Veytia that he was my inquisitive namesake, the Apostle Thomas, and the still wilder assertion of Lord Kingsborough that he was a dim-veiled type of the Messiah![3]

[1] *History of the Conquest of Mexico*, vol. i. pp. 49, 264. The reference to the holy fire has been added to Prescott's narrative, on the authority of Ruxton, *Adventures in Mexico*, p. 192.

[2] Ruxton, *Adventures in Mexico*, pp. 192–194.

[3] Prescott, vol. iii. p. 313, and the references there given.

Other religious analogies prove equally illusory. The Mexicans had rites resembling baptism and the communion; but these also prevailed among pagan nations on whom the light of Christianity never shone. Baptism prevailed among the Jews as well as the ancient Greeks, and consecrated bread and wine were used among the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans.[1] The Mexicans had a tradition of an Eve or primitive mother of mankind, named Cioacoatl, or serpent-woman. They had also a tradition of a Deluge, from which two persons only were saved, namely, Coxcox and his wife; and the Peruvians,[2] and the *White* Indians,[3] Mandans,[4] with the American tribes generally, had traditions of a 'great water,' a 'big canoe,' and a Noah named Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah; but similar traditions prevailed among the Hindoos, Chaldeans, Greeks, and Romans,[5] apparently without their having any knowledge of the Hebrew records; and hence, in accordance with the reasoning applied in Comparative Philology and Mythology, it becomes probable that they are all radiations from some common centre of still higher antiquity. When the Spaniards visited the island of Cozumal, they were amazed to see a cross of stone and lime, about ten palms high,[6] and wildly conjectured that it must have been of Christian origin; but they were not aware that the cross was antecedent to Christianity, and that it was a symbol of worship of the highest antiquity in Egypt, Syria, and Italy. Several specimens of crosses have been found among Egyptian inscriptions, and have been interpreted to mean 'life to come,' and 'support or saviour';[7] a cross was found in the 'House of Pansa,' among the ruins of Pompeii, overwhelmed by a volcanic eruption before the Christian

[1] Prescott, vol. iii. p. 316.
[2] Humboldt, *Travels*, vol. ii. pp. 182, 473.
[3] *Cambrian Register*, vol. i. p. 380.
[4] Catlin, vol. i. pp. 177-178.
[5] Prescott, vol. iii. p. 316, and his authorities.
[6] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 228.
[7] *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 316.

era,[1] and the *Tau*, or last letter of the Hebrew as well as several other Eastern alphabets, had a crucial form. This cross-like letter was inscribed on Jewish shekels, and was the mark spoken of in Ezekiel ix. 4, which was to save the chosen of Jerusalem.[2] This saving mark is even now often used in infant baptism; and when illiterate men sign their names with a cross, they are unconsciously perpetuating a Jewish custom of high antiquity. These, with other remarkable coincidences, have given rise to many attempted explanations; Lord Kingsborough concluded that the Mexicans had an extensive acquaintance with both the Old and New Testaments, and the Spanish monks at first leaned to the same view; but they afterwards concluded that the relics in question were all the works of the Devil, and that the enemy of mankind had given in America a counterfeit presentment of the history of God's chosen people.[3] It must be manifest, however, that these, as well as the Madoc hypothesis, are wholly inapplicable, and we must seek further light in the traditions of the Mexicans themselves.

The origin of the Mexicans has puzzled philosophers of all countries. The general outline of their architecture, and some of their rites, present analogies of an Egyptian character; the statues and pottery of the Mexicans have points of resemblance to those of the Etruscans; their massive walls remind us of the Cyclopean remains found in Pelasgian settlements; and in some other respects they resemble Mongolian structures.[4] Some writers, looking at the first class of analogies, identify the Mexicans with the subjects of Rameses and Sesostris; but others, with more reason, assign them a Mon-

[1] Woodward, *History of Wales*, p. 329.

[2] *Notes and Queries*, January 16, 1858 (2nd ser. vol. v. p. 52).

[3] Prescott, vol. iii. pp. 316, 317. This historian has discussed the whole subject with great learning and ability, and should be consulted for further information.

[4] Wilson's *New History of Mexico*, chap. v.

golian origin, and in so doing are borne out by the whole current of American tradition, as well as by their craniological affinities. The Mexicans refer their origin to the northern and north-western parts of the American continent; they affirm themselves to have come from Aztlan, a region, whether fabulous or not, usually placed in the country now forming the newly-constituted state of British Columbia. Mexican history speaks of several distinct migrations from that quarter. The first of these was that of the Toltecs, a highly-civilised tribe, and the supposed builders of the ruined temples of Central America; the second was that of a ruder tribe, the Chichemecs, whose name, as we have seen, survives on the Mississippi; a third was that of the Acolhuans, and the last was that of the Aztecs or Mexicans.

The Toltecs arrived in the Mexican valley A.D. 648; they abandoned the country in 1051. The Chichemecs arrived in 1170. The Acolhuans arrived *about* 1200. The Mexicans reached Tula, to the north of the valley, in 1196; were subject for a time to the Coluhans, and ultimately founded Mexico in 1325.[1] All these races belong to the Mongolian type, and are with reason said to be of Asiatic origin. The Toltecs date their migration in A.D. 544, and it is a remarkable fact that this date corresponds with that of the ruin of the Tsin dynasty in China. Indeed, it is said that a Chinese book has recently been discovered which gives an account of a voyage from China to Mexico as early as the fourth century.[2] This people occupied a country to the north-west of the Rio Gila, called *Huehuetlapallan*, from which they were expelled, and 104 years later they arrived in the Mexican valley. About 644 the Chichemecs occupied the Toltec settlement beyond the Gila, and five centuries later

[1] Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico*, vol. ii. pp. 8, 13 (cabinet edit.).

[2] *Notes and Queries*, January 7, 1860, 2nd ser. vol. ix. p. 13.

they expelled the Toltecs from Mexico. Lastly, the Aztecs followed the same southward route. They left Aztlan, which is usually placed in N. lat. 57°, between Nootka Sound and Cook's River, in 1160; and after a migration of fifty-six years, which is divided into three grand periods, reached the Mexican valley in 1216. The first migrated to the south of the Rio Nabajoa, in lat. 35°; then to the south of the Gila, lat. 33° 30′; then to the vicinity of Yanos, lat. 30° 30′; afterwards to Tula in 1196, and Zumpanco in 1216; and, after the lapse of 165 years from the first migration, founded the city of Mexico in 1325, where they were found by the Spaniards.[1]

Architectural remains attest the reality and mark the course of these migrations. To the south of the Gila, in the country of the Moqui, ruins are found extending over three square miles; the whole surrounding plain is filled with fragments of Mexican stoneware, beautifully painted in red, white, and blue; ruins of acequias or irrigating canals of great length and depth are here found; and the Spanish monks, Garces and Font, who visited this region in 1773, said they found there, in the middle of an ancient Aztec city, an edifice of extraordinary magnitude, being 445 feet long by 276 feet broad, built with bricks, and having three stories and a terrace. It was divided into five apartments; the walls were four feet thick; and a wall interrupted with large towers surrounded it, with a view, apparently, to its defence. Five such ruined cities are said to have been found in the country of the Moqui; and the architecture in each resembles that of the ancient Aztecs and the modern Pueblos.[2]

The country to the north of the Gila and the Colorado has not been fully explored; but hunters are said to have seen similar remains in those districts; and, in still higher regions, traces of a kindred race are still found. The *Cora* language,

[1] Humboldt, cited in Bell's *Geography*, vol. v. p. 575.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 602; Ruxton's *Adventures in Mexico*, p. 194.

spoken along the Californian Gulf, closely resembles the Mexican; the *tl* so common among the Aztecs still prevails in the neighbourhood of Nootka Sound, and tribes still exist there, such as the Chinooks and Nisquallys, whose dialects resemble, in their terminations and general sound, the speech of the Aztec race. Their fringed dress, plaited hair, predilection for hieroglyphics, and general style of carving, as displayed in their clay pipes and rock sculptures, present other points of resemblance;[1] and these facts, taken in their totality, clearly indicate a Mongolian origin, not only for the Mexicans, but also for all the American tribes. The alphabet of Mexico wanted precisely the same letters as are now wanting in that of the Chinese, who have no *b*, *d*, *g*, *r*, *v*, or short *a*;[2] the languages of Northern Asia resemble closely those of Northern America in their grammatical structure; philology and craniology alike attest the Mongolian origin of the American races;[3] Ledyard saw but one race on each side of the North Pacific; and it may safely be assumed that the New World was first colonised from the Asiatic side, principally through the Aleutian Islands, and partly, perhaps, across Behring's Strait.[4]

The latest account of the Indians of the Gila and Colorado is that of Julius Froebel, in his 'Journeys in Central America,' and that fully sustains the views here put forth. He affirms,

[1] Prescott, vol. iii. p. 327; Pickering, *Races of Men*, p. 341. Captain Jones says that the Indian rock inscriptions or sculptures coincide in form and purport with the tablets of the Book of Mormon! (*Udgorn Seion*, vol. iii. p. 240).

[2] *Saturday Review* on the *Researches of M. Stanislaus Julien*, March 8, 1861.

[3] Bancroft, *History of United States*, vol. ii. p. 927 (Routledge's edit.).

[4] Bunsen, *Philosophy of the History of Mankind*, vol. ii. p. 3; Latham, in his edition of Prichard's *Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations*, pp. 7, 22; also in Orr's *Circle of the Sciences*, pp. 349 *et seq.*, where the question is fully discussed and settled.

quite decidedly, that the physiognomy of these people is Mongolian. He gives fac-similes of the Indian hieroglyphics, or rock inscriptions; some of them resemble patterns of embroidery; some are figures of birds, beetles, and other animals; and when they have any appearance of being letters, the characters have a close resemblance to the Chinese.[1]

Unlike most of the persons who met with Welsh Indians, he had much difficulty in collecting words and names of objects in the native tongue, as *the Indians generally spoke Spanish*, and were very chary of using their own language in the presence of strangers; but he attests the prevalence of Aztec words in most of the Indian dialects. Many of their names of objects, chiefs, and tribes, as *mesquite*, *Moqui*, *Cocopa*, had a decidedly Aztec sound; and the names of chiefs and other persons invariably have the agglutinate and bi-literal syllabic character, now so familiar to us in Mongolian or Chinese names. Finally, Froebel identifies their arts, manners, and customs with those of the Aztec race.

Lastly, it may possibly be expected that I should notice an attempt made in the early part of the last century to prove a connection between the language of the Ancient Britons and that of the Indians of the Isthmus of Darien, who had

[1] *Seven Years' Travel in Central America*, London, 1859, pp. 502, 519, *et seq.* Since this work was published a pretentious work on Indian hieroglyphics, by the Abbé Domenech, was issued under the auspices of the Emperor of the French; but as the figures are supposed to be the work of some German boy, they need not occupy our attention.

'A portion of Von Tschudi's researches is devoted to the aboriginal inhabitants. He declares his most decided conviction that these belong to the Mongolian race, and adds that, but for the difference of costume, it would frequently be impossible to distinguish a Botocudo Indian from a Chinese, and *vice versâ*. The opinion of so intelligent an observer, who has lived so much among both nations, is entitled to the greatest weight, and is amply confirmed by the portraits of Indians which illustrate this volume.'—*Saturday Review*, February 16, 1867, pp. 216, 217; art. *Von Tschudi on American Aborigines.*

been for two centuries in contact with Spaniards. This idea was first started in Wafer's 'Description of the Isthmus of America' (1699), being possibly a faint echo of the unfortunate and premature attempt of Patterson to found a colony at Darien. He noted down twenty-four words, which he said resembled Gaelic in sound, though not in signification; the Rev. David Malcolme, in an essay on the antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland, endeavoured to show that twenty-three of them were related to the Gaelic, Erse, Welsh, Cornish, or Armorican forms of speech; and a Welshman, possibly Dr. Owen Pughe, has countenanced the same assertion. The latter selects thirteen words for comparison; and to these he only suggests five analogous Welsh words,[1] viz.:

| *Darien.* | *Welsh.* |
|---|---|
| Cotchah, sleep | Cwsg |
| Doolah, water | Dwvr |
| Eenah, to call or name | Enwi |
| Pa, an interrogative | Pa, which |
| Tautah, father | Tad |

Here the first two have no resemblance to Welsh; and in the third and fourth the comparison is deceptive, as the Welsh words have specific meanings, whereas those of the Indian words are vague. Thus, *enwi*, to name, as 'Adam named the animals in Eden,' to give an instance familiar to and accepted by Welshmen, is an abstract term not likely to be found in any Indian language, while the Welsh word 'to call' is *galw*. It is equally idle to compare *pa* with *an* interrogative. *Tautah* is simply an infantile ejaculation. The Erse analogies are equally unreliable.

[1] *Cambro-Briton*, vol. iii. p. 32. This, as well as the subject of Welsh Indians generally, has been ably discussed by Professor Elton and Mr. Thomas Jones of Chetham's Library, Manchester, in the earlier volumes of *Notes and Queries*, to which I refer any reader who may be still unsatisfied.

We have thus examined, step by step, and one by one, all the evidences adduced in proof of the existence of the Madogwys. We have discovered some instances of gross and deliberate falsehood; many indications of extraordinary credulity, and not a few evidences of a remarkable proneness to self-deception. Every one of the pretended facts, when closely looked at, vanishes 'like the baseless fabric of a vision,' and the whole mass of 'proofs' has crumbled away under the test of criticism, leaving no semblance of reality to the Indian tale. And when we look at the claims urged in favour of these tales, and by men of eminence in Cambrian literature, can we help being surprised at their inability to discriminate between fact and fiction, and at their utter want of critical capacity? The Cambrian mind has here given 'a local habitation and a name' to a mere figment of the mind; and the fact suggests not a few humiliating reflections.

I do not know what effect this examination has produced on the mind of the reader; but it has led me to conclude THAT THERE ARE NOT, AND THAT THERE NEVER WERE, ANY WELSH INDIANS.

This denial, however, does not necessarily imply a rejection of the Madoc narrative, in the simpler form in which it is given by Humphrey Llwyd. That will come under consideration in the next section.

LIBRARY

## *Section II.*—WAS THE MADOC NARRATIVE WRITTEN BEFORE THE VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS?

It has been seen already that the Rev. Thomas Price (*Carnhuanawc*) suspended his belief in this Cambrian story until it should be definitely ascertained whether Guttyn Owen's account of the discovery of America was written before or after the voyage of Columbus; but, as I believe this to be a false issue, and as it may turn out that Guttyn Owen

did not write any such narrative, I have placed the issue on a broader basis, and raised the question whether it was written by anyone before that voyage. We have thus widened the range of inquiry, and raised the issue in a form which does not restrict us to the consideration of the writings of that bard, but enables us to consider whether it may or may not have been written by some other person.

Dr. John Williams said the first account of this discovery was found in the 'History of Wales,' written by Caradoc of Llancarvan, and translated by Humphrey Llwyd; but he supposed the passage which he found in Powel's edition of Llwyd's work to have been written by Llwyd himself, and not by Caradoc. If the common supposition, which he rejected, had been correct, the statement would not have been open to question, and the Madoc discovery would have rested on the firm basis of contemporary history; but, as Dr. Williams acutely remarked, this statement could not be correct; for Caradoc died in 1156; and, accordingly, it becomes quite clear that he could not have written any account of a voyage in the year 1170.

It should be observed, however, that there is and has been a loose practice of giving the name 'Chronicles of Caradoc' to almost everything in the Welsh language that was cast in an historical form; and this practice is justified to some extent by the probability, if not the known fact, that most of our old Welsh chronicles are based upon, and are continuations of, the original chronicle of Caradoc. There would, therefore, be no difficulty in assuming that the statement might have occurred in one of these continuations; and the question naturally arises, Does this narrative occur in any document called a 'Chronicle of Caradoc'?

There is a great deal of difficulty in determining what the original chronicle of Caradoc really was; as the document published under that name contains several anachronisms,

and mentions persons who lived A.D. 1203, 1293, 1316, 1328, and 1555, while its orthography is comparatively recent;[1] and as there now remains no copy, nor any trace of any copy, that can on critical grounds be considered to have been that original. Judging, however, from the MSS. we now have, the true Chronicle of Caradoc must have been, assuming it to have been in the Welsh language, a translation from the Latin chronicles called 'Annales Cambriæ.' The best part of the Latin originals, and the whole of the translations, namely, 'Brut y Tywysogion' and 'Brut y Saeson,' are now in print, so that we know what they really contain; but neither in any one of the three copies of 'Brut y Tywysogion,' for which Caradoc's original work may have served as the basis, and which contains independent additions, nor in 'Brut y Saeson,' nor in the chronicle attributed to Caradoc, which the Rev. Thomas

[1] I have recently subjected this document to a careful examination in an article entitled 'The Book of Aberpergwm,' improperly called 'The Chronicle of Caradoc' (*Archæologia Cambrensis*, January 1858, 3rd ser. vol. iv. p. 77).

I am warranted, by the authority of the Rev. Thomas Price (*Hanes Cymru*, p. 427), in giving this document the designation of *Llyfr Aberpergwm*. My views are opposed in the *Cambrian Journal* for April 1858, though not, I think, successfully.

[The following are the conclusions at which Mr. Stephens arrives in the article in question:

'(1) That the Book of Aberpergwm is not the Chronicle of Caradoc, but ought always to be cited by the former name.

'(2) That it is a respectable authority for the history of Glamorgan, but not for the general history of Wales.

'(3) That it abounds in mistakes, conjectures, and unauthorised additions; that it exhibits several anachronisms, and names persons who lived in the years 1203, 1293, 1317, and 1328; and that it was written in or about A.D. 1555.

'(4) That it has many parallelisms with *Brut Ieuan Brechfa*, and that several of its special statements are evidently founded on that document.

'(5) That both the Book of Aberpergwm and the so-called Book of Caradoc are written in an orthography comparatively recent, and are both documents of the sixteenth century.']

Price calls 'Llyfr Aberpergwm,' nor yet in 'Brut Ieuan Brechfa,' is there any reference whatever to Madoc ab Owen Gwynedd himself, to his departure from Wales, or to his reputed discovery of a new land in the Far West. If the narrative had a place in any of these records, the fact could not have failed to attract attention, and to have been deemed important, if not conclusive; but as the ancient chronicles of Wales contain no such statement, the reputed discovery loses much of its authority. Still, this is not absolutely fatal to the Kymric claim, since there are a few remarkable instances of the absence of local records of important events where they might confidently have been expected. It is an undeniable fact that Columbus entered triumphantly into the town of Barcelona; but there is no trace of the fact in the local records. Marco Polo must have seen the Great Wall of China; but he has no notice thereof. And Amerigo Vespucci sailed on a voyage to America under the auspices and in the service of the Crown of Portugal; but the archives of that kingdom are absolutely silent upon that point.[1] The argument *ab silentio* is not, therefore, quite conclusive; but it must, nevertheless, be allowed considerable weight, especially when it is borne in mind that the Welsh records are particularly copious about that period; that the event, had it occurred, would have formed a unique fact in the history of Wales; that there is no positive record elsewhere; and that the claim to the discovery of America was first put forth sixty-seven years after the voyage of Columbus. History failing us, we may next attend to the voice of tradition.

In historical trustworthiness, the 'Brut' of Ieuan Brechfa comes *after* 'Brut y Tywysogion' and 'Brut y Saeson,' and before the Book of Aberpergwm; and, as will be recollected, Ieuan Brechfa is one of the authorities cited on the affirmative

[1] Humboldt, *History of the Geography of the New World*, part iv. pp. 160 *et seq.*

side; but his statement occurs, not in his 'Brut' or chronicle, but in 'A Book of Pedigrees'; and then we only have it at second-hand. So far as we can judge from the citation of Dr. Williams, his testimony amounts to this: that Madoc and his brother Riryd, who was Lord of Clochran in Ireland, went (somewhere) across *Mor-werydd*, to some lands they had there, and there dwelt.[1]

What precise meaning he attached to these words cannot positively be determined; but it must be at once apparent that sailing 'across the Irish Sea'[2]—for that is the proper

[1] It is difficult to find trustworthy evidence in dealing with this question. We must assume the existence of this statement in some Book of Pedigrees, hitherto only known to those who quote it; but they differ in the words they profess to find. The author of the Essay sent by Ab Ithel to Llangollen (Iolo Morganwg?) represents the words of Ieuan Brechfa to have been these:

'Madoc a Rhiryd a aethant *draw* i'r Morwerydd, i diroedd a gawsant yno, lle trigfanasant.'—*Cambrian Journal*, 1859, p. 98.

Here the most significant word is *draw*, beyond; but Humphreys Parry, professing to cite the very words of the author, uses terms quite different, but equally significant, viz.:

'Madog a Rhiryd a gawsant dir *yn mhell* yn y Merwerydd, ac yno y cyfaneddasant.'—*Carmarthen Essay*, p. 33.

The first is Englished thus: 'Madoc and Riryd went beyond (Morwerydd) the *Atlantic*, to land they had *found* there, where they remained.' The second is rendered thus: 'Madoc and his *brother* Rhiryd *discovered* land *at a considerable distance* in the *Western Ocean*, and settled there.' Can two citations so different both be genuine? Dr. Williams's Essay discountenances the suspicious words in both these professed originals, and says that 'Rhiryd, who was Lord of Clochran in Ireland, accompanied Madoc *across* the Atlantic (Morwerydd—properly, the Irish Sea), to some lands they had *found* there, and there dwelt.' *Cawsant*, again, does not signify *to find* or *discover*, but to have a thing given one, to get or obtain.

[2] *Morwerydd* is now used to denote the Atlantic Ocean; but this signification first occurs in Dr. Williams's *Enquiry* (1792), and has only been admitted into the dictionaries within the present century. It first occurs in W. Richards's Dictionary, 1821. In the verses attributed to Gwyddno Garanhir, descriptive of the irruption of the sea over 'Cantrev y Gwaelod,' or the Submerged Cantrev, on the coasts of

meaning of *Morwerydd*, and was the only meaning in Ieuan Brechfa's time—conveys a very different meaning from Llwyd's words, 'sailing to the west, leaving Ireland to the north'; and if we may use the Book of Aberpergwm to interpret the words of the herald-bard of Brechva, we shall have historical authority for giving his words their plain and natural signification—*that Madoc and Riryd went to Ireland.* The herald-bard says in his 'Brut' that Owen Gwynedd married an Irish lady named Pyvog, by whom he had his celebrated son Hywel; that Hywel, on the death of his mother, went to Ireland to claim her property; and that this was the reason why the

Merioneth, Cardigan, and Pembroke, the Irish Sea is called 'Mererit'; and it is highly probable that, in Ieuan Brechva's time, this was the name of the Irish Channel. [Cf. Humphrey Llwyd, *Commentarioli Britannicæ Descriptionis Fragmentum*, Cologne, 1572, p. 41: 'Albaniæ parte in Mare Vergivio (quod Britañi Morweridh quasi Mare Hibernicum vocant, et unde antiquum vocabulum Vergivium defluxisse reor) sunt Hebrides insulæ.' Also his description of Cambria prefixed to Powel's *Historie of Cambria*, p. xvii (edit. 1810): 'From Humber to the sea Orkney, called in the Brytish toong *Mor Werydh*, and in Latine *Mare Caledonicum.*'] At a later date, and even within a very recent period, it certainly had this signification. Dr. Davies, in his Dictionary (1632), uses it in this sense, and adds Dr. Powel's authority to his own: 'Morwerydd = Mare Hibernicum. *D.P.*' An eminent antiquary of the seventeenth century, John Jones of Gelli Lyfdy, in a MS. uses the word in the same sense. Sion Rhydderch's English-Welsh Dictionary (2nd edit. Shrewsbury, 1737) has: 'Irish Sea. Mor Werydd. Mor y Werddon.' Richards, the author of the Welsh-English Dictionary (1751), also renders it thus: 'Morwerydd *and* Mor Gwerydd, *s.m.* the Irish Sea.' Thos. Jones's Dictionary (Shrewsbury, 1777) has 'Morwerydd—Mor y Werddon, *the Irish Sea*'; and Davydd Ddu Eryri (1795), in explaining the verses attributed to Gwyddno, says that (*Cylchgrawn Cymraeg*, p. 227) 'Mor y Werydd yw Mor y Werddon,' *i.e.* is the Sea of Ireland, as positively as he would have said that two and two make four.

Morwerydd, properly speaking, is the 'Ωκεανὸς Οὐεργιούιος, or *Oceanus Vergivius* of Ptolemy—that is, St. George's Channel; and the *v* of *Vergiv* or *Weryv*, in accordance with a mutation common in South Wales, would acquire the sound of *dh* or *dd*. Thus *Caerdyv*, or Cardiff, is sounded Caerdy*dd*; and ty*vu*, to grow, is sounded ty*dd*u.

Britons say that a large part of Ireland thenceforth belonged to them.[1] So far Ieuan Brechva's 'Brut': the Book of Aberpergwm says, further, that Hywel having been defeated by his brother David, and wounded in the side, his brother Riryd took him to a ship and went to Ireland, that Hywel died there, and that he left his possessions in that country to his brother Riryd.[2] Hence it becomes highly probable that Ieuan Brechva alluded by the word *cawsant* to the lands thus bequeathed to Riryd, and that in his estimation Madoc must have gone to Ireland. This bard signed an heraldic return, August 12, 1460,[3] and is usually said to have died about 1500.[4] If so, may we not assume that, in its present form, the Madoc narrative was to him unknown? Does not his statement point to Ireland rather than America?

Iolo Morganwg says: 'We have manuscript accounts of this discovery [*i.e.* of America] that were written before the birth of Columbus. Dr. David Powel, in Queen Elizabeth's time, says, in his History of Wales (on the authority of Guttyn Owen, who wrote in Welsh in King Edward the Fourth's time), that Madoc sailed westward in hopes of discovering the lands that lay beyond the Atlantic (of which there were ancient manuscript accounts, as well as traditions, in Wales).'[5] This statement was published in 1794, before the publication

[1] *Brut* Ieuan Brechva, *sub an.* 1130. *Myv. Arch.* vol. ii. pp. 556–7; Gee's edit. p. 720. This Brut terminates with the year 1150–1. The Welsh Chronicles were called *Bruts*, from the fact that the Welsh translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of Brutus*, &c. was called *Brut* y Brenhinoedd.

[2] *Llyfr Aberpergwm*, improperly called the Chronicle of Caradoc, and Brut y Tywysogion, *sub an.* 1169. *Myv. Arch.* vol. ii. p. 572; Gee's edit. p. 712.

[3] This return is published in Fenton's *Pembrokeshire*, Appendix, No. 14, pp. 45–47.

[4] Owen's *Cambrian Biography*, and Williams's *Eminent Welshmen*, articles 'Ieuan Brechva' and 'Berchva (a misprint for Brechva) Ieuan.'

[5] Edward Williams, *Poems, Lyric and Pastoral*, vol. ii. p. 64.

of the 'Myvyrian Archaiology' (1801), when Cambrian antiquaries used to make very loose assertions respecting the contents of Welsh MSS. I venture to assert that Iolo Morganwg has done so in this instance. The contents of our MSS. are now well known, and I deliberately affirm that no such early traditions or manuscript accounts of lands beyond the Atlantic are known to have existed in Wales, neither are there any manuscript records in the Principality of the discovery of America, or other transmarine lands in the West, 'before the birth of Columbus.' And, independently of these *à priori* grounds for doubting this statement, there are two ways by which we may estimate its truthfulness. The first arises from the consideration of the Book of Aberpergwm, and the second will appear in speaking of Guttyn Owen. I have said already that the Aberpergwm document names persons who lived in 1316 (Llywelyn Brenn) and in 1328 (Bishop Martin of St. Davids); but further we read, under the year 1114,[1] of '*Gwylliaid Mawddwy*, a geffir fyth yn anrheithiaw gwlad ym mhell ac agos,' 'who *are ever* found despoiling the country far and near.' These *Gwylliaid Mawddwy* were a band of robbers, whose head-quarters were at Mawddwy, in Merionethshire, who caused much terror in the first half of the sixteenth century, who murdered Baron Owen, October 11, 1555, and who were exterminated soon after.[2] The present tense, *are ever*, furnishes the date of this composition; but this document, thus seen to be written about 1555, makes no mention whatever of Madoc ab Owen, or of any such discovery of transatlantic lands. Can we, then, believe the statement of Iolo that manuscript accounts of the discovery of America existed in Wales 'before the birth of Columbus'? This assertion stands alone, is unsupported by any specific

[1] *Llyfr Aberpergwm*, *Myv. Arch.* vol. ii. p. 547; Gee's edit. p. 706.

[2] Williams's *Eminent Welshmen*, art. 'Owen, Lewis, y Barwn, pp. 382-3.

reference, and is nowhere anticipated or repeated by any other writer. I therefore deliberately affirm that Iolo here asserted more than he could have proved, and that his statement is highly improbable, if not utterly untrue.

Seeing that in all these cases we have failed to find any traces of a circumstantial narrative of Madoc's discovery written in early times, we come in the next place to consider the statements made respecting Guttyn Owen. No name plays so important a part in this controversy as that of this bard; his authority has been confidently claimed for the affirmative side by Dr. Williams, Iolo Morganwg, and Mr. Humphreys Parry (in his earlier writings); and not a little dexterity has been shown in the endeavour to place him chronologically before Columbus.

Guttyn Owen was a bard and herald of high reputation, living near Oswestry at a place called Ifton. He has left behind him a large number of poems, called *Cywyddau*; a Welsh Chronicle, that of Basingwerk, brought down to his own day; and one or more books of pedigrees. And so high was his reputation that he was employed as an historiographer, both at the Abbey of Basingwerk and at that of Ystrad Fflur (Strata Florida), residing alternately at both monasteries. As dates are important in the present discussion, we must aim at exactness. He is said by one authority to have *died* about 1480;[1] but, as will be seen hereafter, this is evidently too early. Another says he *flourished* about 1480;[2] and a third that he wrote in Welsh in the reign of Edward IV. (1461–1483);[3] a fourth that he wrote from 1460 to 1490;[4] and a fifth that he was a person of note in the reign of Henry VII.,[5] who

[1] Williams's *Eminent Welshmen*, art. 'Owain, Guttyn.'

[2] Pennant, *Tours in Wales*, vol. i. p. 40 (edit. 1810); Rev. P. B. Williams, *Cambro-Briton*, vol. i. p. 210.

[3] Sir Thos. Herbert, *ante*, p. 33.

[4] *Cambrian Biography*, art. 'Gutyn Owain,' p. 152.

[5] Dr. Williams's *Enquiry* &c., p. 9 (note *f*).

ascended the throne in 1485. That he was living in this reign is quite clear, as he was named among other persons in a Royal Commission to make out the king's descent from the ancient British kings; but the date of this Commission is undetermined. Pennant places it in the early part of the king's reign;[1] Dr. Williams thinks it was issued about the year 1500, when Henry sent his son Arthur into Wales; and Dr. Jones dates it in 1504.[2]

We are now in a position to discuss some of the questions raised in reference to this bard. It is currently assumed that he wrote an account of Madoc's discovery, and that Humphrey Llwyd and Dr. Powel were simply translators of that original. The only question, therefore, that affected the holders of the affirmative view was this, whether he wrote before or after the voyage of Columbus in 1492? Some writers have striven to show that he wrote before 1492; and in confirmation it might be said that the last entry in the Book of Basingwerk is dated 1461; but as that MS. chronicle makes no reference to the voyages of Madoc, or his discovery of America, the fact may also be used on the other side to show that his reference to Madoc must have been written at a later date. The opponents of the narrative affirm that he wrote after the voyage of Columbus, and it cannot be denied that, as the bard formed one of the above-mentioned Royal Commission, he might very well have done so. But whether his reference to this matter was made in words corresponding to those of Llwyd and Powel, and before or after 1492, cannot be determined, as we have not the Welsh original, and it is not known on what writing of his Dr. Powel founded his statement.[3]

[1] Pennant, *op. cit.* vol. iii. p. 49.

[2] *History of Wales*, by John Jones, LL.D. (London, 1824), p. 119.

[3] Humphreys Parry (*Carmarthen Essay*, p. 33) asserts that Guttyn Owen, 'in his epitome of Welsh history, gives a particular relation of

The late Rev. Thomas Price, as we have already seen, suspended his belief in the Madoc narrative until the above question had been decided;[1] but this was rather uncritical ground to take; for, though it be assumed that Guttyn Owen did write some account of Madoc's discovery, it should have been quite clear to him, from the Llwyd narrative alone, that Guttyn Owen did not write anything corresponding to that, and that, *in its present form*, this could not have been written until long after the discovery by Columbus; for Guttyn would hardly have quoted the Spanish writings of Francis Lopez de Gomara, published in 1553, and no one could have referred to 'Nova Hispania' until the Spaniards had given it that name; neither would anyone affirm that America had been discovered by Britons 'long before either Columbus or Vespucci led any Spaniards thither,' until these two navigators had become pretty generally known. I conclude, therefore, that, though Guttyn Owen might have written something in reference to Madoc and some voyage of his, the Llwyd narrative, as it stands, cannot be a translation of any writing of his.

But, if Guttyn's statement is not represented by Llwyd's account, what was it that Dr. Powel saw? A moment's consideration will suffice to show that he could not have seen any reference by Guttyn to Spaniards, Columbus, or Amerigo Vespucci; and it will probably be equally evident that Dr. Powel's own reasons for differing from Llwyd, and for believing that Madoc went to Mexico, could have had no place in Guttyn's MS. Omitting these particulars—namely, the Llwyd narrative, which makes no reference to the bard, and Dr. Powel's own speculations—we shall only have to consider the following paragraph:

this occurrence.' This is a mere assertion which we know to be untrue.

[1] *Ante*, pp. 92-93.

'This Madoc arriuing in that Westerne Countrie unto the which he came in the yeare 1170, left most of his people there: and returning backe for more of his owne nation, acquaintance, and freends, to inhabite that faire and large countrie; went thither againe *with ten sailes, as I find noted by Gutyn Owen.* I am of opinion, &c.'[1]

This only differs from Llwyd in giving the date, 1170, and in the passage in italics; and the question now arises, What did Powel find noted by Gutyn Owen? Or, first of all, how much of this paragraph rests on his authority? I cannot answer for other persons, but it seems to me quite clear that the bard's authority covers nothing but the 'ten ships.' But, if so, was that all that Powel found 'noted' by him? Here again I answer affirmatively; for it is scarcely credible that he would have omitted any further particulars if they had occurred in the MS.; and this supposition gains strength when Guttyn's statement is compared with the Triad quoted in the first chapter.[2]

One other question yet remains. In the connection in which the statement is used by Powel, Guttyn Owen seems to say that Madoc went to America; but are we to infer that his words would convey that meaning if we had them in their original and independent form? Before answering that inquiry, it may be well to observe that the reference to the 'ten ships' suggests a comparison with the Triadic statement. There we find that Madoc went away with *ten ships* and *three hundred men*, but that *it was not known where he went to.* Here we have two points not specified by Powel; but it is scarcely probable that he would have omitted the 'three hundred men' if they had been named by Guttyn, and I must therefore conclude that the bard's statement was simpler in its form than even this Triad, and that in the original it did

[1] *Historie of Cambria* (edit. 1811), p. 167.

[2] [*Ante*, p. 20.]

not affirm the discovery of the western continent, or of any other country.

If this reasoning be correct, the statement of Guttyn Owen is far less important than it is generally supposed to be, and belongs exclusively to the earlier and simpler form of the Madoc tradition. The assertion that 'the rightful whelp of Owen Gwynedd' discovered America must, therefore, remain without the sanction of the herald-bard of Oswestry.

We are thus brought back to the consideration of the Llwyd narrative, and have now to determine whether it is a translation from some Welsh account, or is itself an original statement. It must be evident, from many allusions and authentic facts given in the preceding pages, that there was a Madoc tradition of some kind before the times of either Columbus or Humphrey Llwyd; and it is not difficult to conceive that there may have been an embryo narrative in the minds of the natives of Wales, before it assumed its present written form; but I know of no Cambrian document from which it could have been translated; and as we have it, it bears unmistakable evidences of having come from the hands of an accomplished scholar, not only well acquainted with the science and literature of his day, but also thoroughly conversant with the literature of American discovery. The hand of Humphrey Llwyd is too evident in its phraseology, topography, and allusions, to render it doubtful that he did not translate the words of any other writer; and as Powel gives the name of Llwyd as the authority in his margin, and evidently knew of no other, it must be considered to be a point fully established, that the sole author of Llwyd's narrative was Llwyd himself.

Of this there cannot possibly be any doubt. Columbus made his discovery in 1492; and, half a century later, Spanish writers published histories of the New World. The writer of Llwyd's narrative quotes these writers; and no one will

venture to affirm that he could have quoted them before the date of their publication. One of these writers was Francis Lopez de Gomara, the first edition of whose 'Cronica de la Nueva España' appeared at Medina in 1553. It was re-published at Antwerp in 1554;[1] and, as Llwyd's continental correspondents were Hollanders, it is almost certain that it was this reprint that came under his notice. Llwyd's work was written in 1559; and that is the earliest date that can possibly be assigned to the written assertion of the discovery of America by Madoc ab Owen Gwynedd. His narrative was not written until sixty-seven years after the discovery by Columbus; and it was first published in 1584, twenty-five years later, or ninety-two years after the first voyage of that great navigator.

If, therefore, the question be asked, whether the narrative of the discovery of America by Prince Madoc was *written* before the accomplishment of that feat by Columbus, I shall have no hesitation in giving a negative reply; but it must not be assumed too hastily that it is on that account all pure invention. The traces of Llwyd's pen might be all removed without destroying the integrity of the native legend, of which they form no essential parts. There was, as we have observed, an antecedent tradition; and Llwyd himself informs us that there were such narratives in his day:

'Of the viage and returne of this Madoc there be manie fables fained, as the common people doo use in distance of place and length of time, rather to augment than to diminish; but sure it is, that there he was.'[2]

He, therefore, simply, to all appearance, adorned and gave a definite form to a vague tradition already current among his countrymen; and, as it did not originate with him, so its

[1] Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico*, vol. ii. p. 402.

[2] Powel's *Historie of Cambria*, p. 167.

vitality in its earlier form does not cease when his authority is withdrawn. We shall, therefore, continue the discussion in another form.

## *Section III.*—Does the Narrative of the Discovery of America by Madoc ab Owen bear the Marks of Originality and Probability?

Traditions are the foundlings of history. They have no recognised paternity, and are the expressions of popular rather than individual feeling, the aggregate contributions of many minds, warmed by the breath of zeal or nationality, rather than emanations from the minds of independent authors. And this is the case with that now under consideration; the germs of it existed long before Llwyd wrote; and it appears from him that the tradition had assumed something of its present form, and become current in his day; but all our efforts to determine its paternity have failed; and we must therefore waive that question in order to deal with the tradition in itself, and to determine whether it bears the marks of originality and probability.

In order to obtain a clear conception as to whether the Cambrian story has or has not marks of originality, it may be well to compare it with the leading facts in the history of the voyages of Columbus. If it differs from these, we may reasonably infer that it is a tradition of native and independent growth; for, though there were many navigators in that day famed for American discovery, the voyages of Columbus were the best known of all these, and the most likely to influence the growth of such a tradition as that under our notice. But if the Madoc narrative presents any very striking coincidences with the voyages of Columbus, there will be reasonable grounds to suspect that it took its form under their influences; and it must be evident that

between 1492 or 1493, and 1559, when Llwyd wrote, there had been quite enough of time to account for such developments.

Columbus sailed, on his first voyage to the West, on August 3, 1492, from the bar of Saltes, near Palos, in Spain, with three small ships and 120 men. After many mishaps, and much opposition from his own men, he discovered the New Continent, and landed at one of the Bahama Islands—either San Salvador or Watling Island—on the morning of October 12.[1] On the 24th he proceeded to explore the newly-discovered region, and found other islands, such as Concepcion, Exuma, Cuba, and Hayti. He took the latter to be the ancient Ophir, the source of the riches of Solomon, and he gave it the Latin diminutive name of Hispaniola, *from its resembling the fairest tracts of Spain.* He there constructed a fort, and, *leaving there the germ of a future colony*, he set sail homeward on January 4, 1493, and landed triumphantly at Palos on March 15 following. On September 25, 1493, he left Cadiz on a second expedition, with seventeen ships and 1,500 men, many of them volunteers, eager for gold and glory. He discovered many new islands, and visited Hispaniola to recruit his health; but here he found that *the men he had left there were nowhere to be found; and it was thought they had quarrelled with, and been massacred by, the natives.* He returned in 1496; and after having made two more voyages, and suffered many vicissitudes of fortune, died at Valladolid in Spain, on May 20, 1506, with a world-wide reputation, which becomes more and more lustrous with each succeeding age. This outline of his career is, of course, exceedingly meagre, and is not intended to be a biography of the great navigator; but it will suffice for the present purpose.

Two considerations at once present themselves. When

[1] *History of Maritime Discovery*, vol. i. pp. 393, 396; vol. ii. pp. 3-4.

Columbus returned, he brought with him several natives of the newly-discovered country; Ferdinand and Isabella loaded him with honours; the news spread like wildfire through the length and breadth of Christendom; all Europe rang with the praise of the great admiral; and the learned men of every city and kingdom in the civilised world united in rendering their tribute of admiration to the daring and sagacious navigator who had conceived the existence and accomplished the discovery of the New Continent. But Madoc, assuming the truth of the story, was far less fortunate; Europe remained wholly unconscious of any such discovery; and even the annals of his own country afford no trace of an event which, had it been real, they certainly would have recorded. Again, had Madoc sailed to America, and returned, he could scarcely have failed to note and record the wholly different and very peculiar aspect of the American heavens. The ancients, having sailed round the Cape, have left us descriptions of what they saw, which enable us to say that they visited the Southern and Indian Seas; and descriptions of the astronomical phenomena of the southern hemisphere find place in the accounts of all the Spanish voyages; but Welsh literature affords no trace of an acquaintance with the new stars and nebulæ which attracted the attention of the Spaniards; and the repeated references to the 'three quarters' of the world shows that the Kymry had no conception of the existence of a new and fourth quarter.

Let us now compare the two narratives, and see whether there be any resemblance between them. 'Madoc,' it is said, 'left the land in contention betwixt his brethren, and prepared certaine ships with men and munition, and sought aduentures by seas, sailing West, and leauing the coast of Ireland so far north that he came to a land unknowen, where he saw manie strange things.'[1] This land, in the opinion of Llwyd, must

[1] *Historie of Cambria*, p. 166.

needs be 'Nova Hispania,' discovered by Columbus, or Florida, discovered by Juan Ponce de Leon in 1512; but these conjectures could have formed no part of the native tradition. 'Madoc then returned home, declared the pleasant and fruitful countries that he had seene without inhabitants, prepared a number of ships, got with him such men and women as were desirous to liue in quietnes, and taking leaue of his freends, took his journie thitherward againe.'[1]

Are there any resemblances here? Madoc, like Columbus, is said to have sailed directly West, and like him to have found a strange land; but, unlike Columbus, he did not give it a name. Why was this? And when Llwyd gave the new land a name, why was he compelled to use one given by the Spaniards? These facts seem to indicate that the tale of the discovery was post-Columbian. Again, Madoc left Wales in disgust; but no sooner has he found a land to his liking in the Far West than he returns to fetch more of his countrymen than cared at first to accompany him. Is this a satisfactory explanation? Columbus went out intending to return; took possession in the name of the King of Spain;[2] left the germ of a colony behind him; and returned to get a larger number of men. In his case the motive is clear; but the return of Madoc is not so easily explained; and the fact begets a suspicion that here also the statement is a myth, and that the story has been shaped in accordance with the voyages of Columbus.

Llwyd, it will have been observed, represents Madoc to have made a speech to his countrymen on his return; and this, again, has the appearance of being an imitation; for Columbus, when he had an audience, on his return, from Ferdinand and Isabella, the King and Queen of Spain, gave,

[1] *Historie of Cambria*, p. 167.

[2] *History of Maritime Discovery*, vol. i. p. 393; and Robertson's *History of America*, vol. i. p. 128.

in an elaborate oration, a circumstantial account of his discoveries; and the effect of that, and the speeches of his fellow-voyagers, was the same. 'The name,' says Robertson, 'by which Columbus distinguished the countries which he had discovered (*West Indies*) was so inviting, the specimens of the riches and fertility which he produced were so considerable, and the reports of his companions, delivered frequently with the exaggeration natural to travellers, so favourable, as to excite a wonderful spirit of enterprise among the Spaniards.'[1]

Llwyd does not state that Madoc left any men behind him on his first voyage; neither does he give its date or the number of his ships; but Dr. Powel supplies these omissions. He fixes 1170 as the date of the first voyage, and says that Madoc 'left most of his people there, and returning back for more of his own nation to inhabit that fair and large country, went thither again with ten ships.'

The authority for the number of ships we know to be Guttyn Owen; and as that presents no resemblance to any Columbian fact, it must be assumed to be of home growth. The date was easily determined from the wars of the sons of Owen Gwynedd; but where is the authority for the assertion that Madoc left most of his men behind him? If he had native authority for this, why does he not give it, as he did in the case of the ten ships? But if he had no such authority, may we not conclude that he was shaping his narrative in accordance with, and under the influence of, Columbian facts?

Sir Thomas Herbert writes still more circumstantially. He says that Madoc ranged the coast of the new world, and as soon as he found a convenient place sat down to plant, meaning thereby that he fixed on a spot to form his intended settlement; that after he had stayed there a while to recruit

[1] *History of America*, vol. i. p. 157.

the health of his men, as Columbus did,[1] he fortified his settlement, as Columbus had done,[2] and left 120 men, the exact number Columbus had left, there to protect it. The same thing occurred to these settlers as to the crew left by Columbus; for, on the reported return of Madoc and his countrymen, they found but few remaining, and they attributed their death to the same causes—either an incautious indulgence in the produce of a novel climate and country, or the treachery of the natives. Coincidences of this kind cannot have been accidental; for, though many other navigators visited the same regions, no such resemblances occur between their adventures and those of the discoverers of Hispaniola; and we must therefore adopt one of two alternatives, either that Columbus followed servilely in the footsteps of Prince Madoc, of whom to all appearance he never heard, or that the Madoc narrative in its successive stages was closely modelled upon that of the great admiral.

It would be thought to be a satire on Welsh credulity if I were to say that any of my countrymen would adopt the first alternative; and yet Dr. John Williams did not hesitate to suggest that, 'in the space of about 300 years, a report of Prince Madog's successful Western navigations might obtain throughout Europe; and that the penetrating and enterprising genius of Columbus might excite him to pursue the same course, in hopes of finding a nearer way to China, and other countries.'[3] But there is no warrant for any such suggestion, and, for my own part, I must adopt the other alternative; and, in answer to the question proposed at the head of this section, I have no hesitation in affirming that the narrative of Madoc's discovery does not bear the marks of originality.

[1] *History of Maritime Discovery*, vol. ii. p. 7. This was on the second voyage.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 397; Robertson, *History of America*, vol. i. p. 144.

[3] *Farther Observations* &c., p. 58, note.

The foregoing remarks must, I conceive, have made the fact quite manifest, that the Madoc narrative, in the form in which we now have it, and so far as it relates to the discovery of America, must have been framed after the voyages of Columbus, and under the influence of his discoveries; but the criticism, so far as it has yet gone, affects the form of the narrative rather than its essence, and does not exclude either the possibility or the probability of the discovery. Still, in the absence of any positive record of the fact, we can only discuss it now in the light of probability. This question presents itself under three aspects, which we shall consider *seriatim*:—

(1) Is it probable that America would have been discovered by accident? This is the form in which it first suggests itself; for we are told that Madoc went in search of adventure, sailed direct West, and discovered the New Continent. Is this probable? Columbus, we have seen, set his face westward, sailed in that direction continuously for nine weeks, and then descried Guannahi, which he named San Salvador. He had a firm persuasion that India, for that was what he sought, could be approached from the West, and he determined to sail westward until he should find it. But is it within the range of probability, either ordinary or extraordinary, that Madoc, without having any such persuasion, and in mere search of adventures, would have sailed continuously for nine weeks, into an unknown sea, and without any prospect or expectation of finding new lands? Raised in this form, the question admits, in my judgment, of but one answer, and that one wholly adverse to the claims of Prince Madoc.[1]

[1] I here assume that the course marked by Llwyd, *i.e.* that Madoc left Ireland *on the North*, is the correct one. Had he sailed up the North Sea, leaving Ireland *to the South*, the question would have admitted of a different answer; for, as will be seen in the sequel, Greenland, and probably North America, had been discovered from this

(2) Rejecting this, let us next inquire whether it i probable that the existence of a new continent was suspecte in the twelfth century, and whether it would have bee sought by Madoc or any of his contemporaries. This is th form of the question suggested by Sir Thomas Herbert. H quotes the prediction of Seneca, the Roman philosopher, i his 'Medea':

> Venient annis
> Secula seris, quibus Oceanus
> Vincula rerum laxet et ingens
> Pateat Tellus, Typhisque Novos
> Detegat Orbes, nec sit Terris
> Ultima Thule.

In English:

> The time shall one day be,
> Guided by Providence, when men shall see
> The liquid Ocean to enlarge her bounds,
> And pay the earth a tribute of more grounds
> In ample measure. For the sea gods then
> Will show new worlds and rarities to men,
> Yea, by His leave who everything commands,
> See Thule far less north than other lands.

He then remarks that these were 'dim lights to show th way to the western world'; and adds that 'it is not unlikel that Madoc was acquainted with the prophecy or *dim light* which led to the discovery of the western world.'[1] Th

quarter as early as the end of the *tenth* century, and that, to all ap pearance, accidentally.

At the quarterly meeting of the Royal Society of Northern Anti quaries, December 6, 1861, Mr. Gisle Brynjulfsson suggested that, a Madoc was the grandson of Griffith ab Conan, who on the mother's side was descended from the Scandinavian Kings of Dublin, he may have heard of the discovery of Greenland and other western countries by the Northmen, 'these being well known to the Scandinavians in Ireland.' The remark is ingenious, but I presume there is no positive evidence to support the last statement (*Arch. Camb.* 1862, 3rd ser vol. viii. p. 150).

[1] Quoted in Stephens's *Literature of the Kymry*, p. 144; 2nd edit. p. 133.

suggestion here thrown out is ingenious; but there is a total absence of evidence to show that any such ideas existed in the dark ages, or in the twelfth century; while Seneca was an author only known to a few, if known at all; and it is perfectly certain that these 'dim lights' had no share whatever in the ultimate discovery; for Columbus sought to find a western way to India; and to his dying day he thought he had discovered, not a new continent, but the extremity of Asia. He gave the name of Indies to the islands he had discovered; and the West Indies retain to this day the name thus given under a false impression. It is therefore, I think, improbable that Madoc and his contemporaries had any suspicion of the existence of the American continent; and, even if they had, it is improbable that Madoc, in the absence of a sufficient motive, would have gone to seek it. Columbus was allured by the riches of India, and the glory that would accrue to himself from the discovery of a new highway for Western commerce; but while India was comparatively unknown, and the foreign commerce of Europe, and especially Wales, very small, this motive would scarcely have sufficed to influence Madoc.

I may, however, state in this connection, though not strictly relevant to the inquiry, that in the fifteenth century the existence of other lands was strongly suspected. Pulci, the Italian poet, affirmed, 'it is possible to navigate far beyond the Pillars of Hercules [*i.e.* the Straits of Gibraltar], as the sea is level everywhere, although our world has a round form, as everything above is attracted to the centre, and the earth itself stands suspended among the stars. And ships shall proceed far beyond the boundaries which Hercules fixed here in times of ignorance, *and they will discover another hemisphere, where are towns, nations, and empires.* Those are the Antipodes, and they adore the Sun, and Jupiter and

Mars, they have trees and cattle, as you have, and often wage war against one another.'[1]

This was written fifteen years before Columbus sailed; and if not inspired by his previous voyages, and those of his fellow-countrymen, as well as by the grand project he was known to entertain long before he executed them, may have had some influence on his mind; but he evidently had clear and definite conceptions of what he sought, and had no intention of going to the Antipodes to seek the New World.

(3) We now approach the third form of the question. Assuming that Madoc believed in the existence of such transmarine lands, and desired to reach them, is it probable, considering the state of navigation in Wales in the twelfth century, that he could have made his way to America? This view of the question has been already under discussion. Lord Lyttelton affirmed that, 'if Madoc did really discover any part of America, he performed an achievement incomparably more extraordinary than that of Columbus; but, without the help of the compass, at a time when navigation was ill understood, and with mariners less expert than any others in Europe,' he held such a feat to be in the highest degree improbable. On the other hand, it was alleged by Dr. Williams that the voyages of the Phœnicians, the Greeks, &c., to Britain and the Baltic were equally long and equally dangerous; but this is a very weak argument; for these voyages were made by sailing in sight of land, and along known coasts. It was more forcibly urged that the Britons in the middle ages had frequent intercourse with the continent, visited Norway, and went to Iceland; that the natives of the South Sea often made such voyages; and that, with fair weather, Madoc's voyage was not impossible.[2] And a

[1] *Morgante Maggiore*, Canto xxv. stan. 228 *et seq.*

[2] *Hanes Cymru*, p. 591. With modern skill and scientific appliances, it might be possible to make the voyage to or from America

still better argument might have been found in the fact that the Icelanders in the eleventh century used the loadstone in navigation, and that the mariner's compass really was known, if not to Madoc, at least to the Arabians, at or near the date of his reputed voyage; for Guiot de Provins, one of the Troubadour poets, about 1181, mentions the magnet, its property of turning to the pole, and its being suspended; and he also adds that it is useful to direct the mariner through the ocean.[1] Jaques de Vitry, Bishop of Ptolemais, expressly notices it in 1204, as the well-known guide of seamen; it was in general use among the Spanish navigators, who are supposed to have received it from the Arabian Moors, in the middle of the thirteenth century;[2] and a circumstantial account of its properties was written by a German physician, named Peter Adsiger, in 1269. It is, therefore, manifest that Flavio Gioja, a native of Amalfi, in the kingdom of Naples, who is supposed to have invented it about the year 1302,[3] was rather the improver of the instrument than its real inventor. But, though the compass was thus known, its

with inferior craft. Four men sailed from Bermuda to Ireland in a decked boat in 1618; but they had a compass and were experienced mariners (*Calendar of Colonial Papers*, 1862; *World Displayed*, vol. iv. p. 144). For a reference to passages to and from America in small vessels, see the *Athenæum*, September 8, 1866, p. 305.

[1] Claude Fauchet, *Recueil de l'Orig. de la Lang. Française*, p. 555, cited in the *History of Maritime Discovery*, vol. i. p. 349.

'Un art font qui mentir ne peut,
Par la vertu de la mariniere,
Un pierre laide, et bruniere,
Où le fer volontiers se joint,
Ont regardent ler droit point.'

*La Bible Guyot.*

[2] Capmany, *Quest. Crit.*, *Quest.* 11, cited in the same work and page. In 1266, Iarl Starla, a Norwegian poet, was rewarded with a mariner's compass for an elegy on a Swedish Count (Torfæus, *History of Norway*).

[3] *History of Maritime Discovery*, vol. i. p. 347.

value was but little understood; and most navigators, especially in Southern Europe, were very timid in trusting themselves to the Atlantic, out of the sight of land.

However, this is apparently a false issue; for the inhabitants of Iceland, who were already half way, discovered Greenland in 982, and North America in 986,[1] without the aid of the compass; and, on the other hand, a Portuguese navigator, who by a breach of faith on the part of John II., King of Portugal, was made acquainted with the plans of Columbus himself, failed to realise them, was unable to direct his course at sea, and, after being greatly tossed about, had to return home, and confess the treachery and failure.[2] It must, therefore, be evident that the most important element in the solution of this problem is the character of the navigators and their chief. Let us, therefore, inquire, What kind of character do the Kymry bear as sailors?

This question, also, has been answered in two different senses. Dr. Williams affirms that they had a large navy in the time of Julius Cæsar, and that they had an extensive trade with the Phœnicians;[3] but these reasons are rather far-fetched, considering that the principal question is the naval character of the Kymry in the twelfth century, even if they

[1] Blackwell's edition of Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, pp. 244, 251. There can be but little doubt that the Scandinavian or Icelandic pirates did discover Greenland, though Robertson (*History of America*, vol. i. p. 337, note) and Bancroft (vol. i. p. 5) have some hesitation in admitting the fact. The proofs are given in the *Antiquitates Americanæ* of the Northern Antiquaries, of which there is an English translation by Mr. J. T. Smith (*Discovery of America by the Northmen in the Tenth Century* &c., 2nd edit. 1850). Wheaton (*History of the Northmen*; as also in his *Scandinavia*, vol. i. p. 163) affirms the reality of the discovery; Blackwell also accepts the testimony of the Icelandic Sagas; and the evidence has been popularised in one of Chambers's *Papers for the People*. The Vikings used to take ravens with them to direct their course homeward (Frode, *Landnamabok*).

[2] *History of Maritime Discovery*, vol. i. p. 386.

[3] Williams's *Enquiry* &c., p. 60.

were sound; unfortunately they are both erroneous; for the ships mentioned by Cæsar were those of the Veneti of Gaul, and the foreign trade was carried on in Phœnician ships.

Another writer comes nearer home, and, in the interest of the Madoc legend, claims naval celebrity for the Britons of the fourth century. This impression, which Camden had attempted to produce before, is effected by garbling the words of Festus Avienus (who wrote about A.D. 370) thus:

Turbidum late fretum
Et belluosi gurgitem oceani secant
Rei ad miraculum.

Far and wide they plough the rough sea,
And the gulf of the raging ocean
In a most wonderful manner.[1]

But, on verifying this quotation, the original is found to produce a more specific and less flattering impression. Speaking of the people of the Œstrymnides, or *Scilly Islands*, he says:

Multa vis hic gentis est,
Superbus animus, efficax sollertia,
Negotiandi cura jugis omnibus;
Notisque cymbis turbidum late fretum,
Et belluosi gurgitem oceani secant.
Non hi carinas quippe pinu texere
Acereve norunt, non abiete, ut usus est,
Curvant faselos; sed rei ad miraculum,
Navigia junctis semper aptant pellibus,
Corioque vastum sæpe percurrunt salum.[2]

That is:

This is the great power of the nation,
Their proud mind, their efficient skill,
Their desire of negotiating with all climes;
Their well-known boats widely traverse
The troublous sea, and the gulf of the monster-bearing ocean.
Certainly, they know not how to cover their keels

[1] *Camb. and Caledon. Quart. Mag.* vol. iv. p. 470.
[2] *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. xix.

With pine or maple (decks), nor do they, as is customary,
Curve their little vessels with fir; but the wonder is,
They always make their vessels of joined skins,
And often run through the vast deep in a hide.

This, therefore, is only a description of that very primitive British boat—the coracle—which may still be seen on the Towy and the Teivy, and certainly does not lend much support to the Madoc narrative.

A better argument might be founded upon the 'Gododin,' from which it is quite evident that the British aborigines had a navy in the seventh century; one Cynddilig is specially named, with his 'glassawc tebedawc tra mordwy alon,' or 'blue flag against naval foes'; and of another chief it is said, 'O golet moryet ny bu aesawr' (v. 79), that, 'from having led a seafaring life, he bore no shield.' Cynddilig is also called 'gwrawl amddyvrwys, gorvawr ei lu' (v. 81), 'hero of surrounding waters, great was his host.'[1] But it does not appear that the Kymry had a navy in the twelfth century; and it is a pure fiction to affirm that Madoc commanded his father's fleet at the battle of Tal y Moelvre in 1142, for the battle took place on land—'ac am dal moelvre mil fanieri,' as Gwalchmai says; and the only shipping present was that of the invaders. Still it was a gross misrepresentation on the part of Dr. Jones to say they had only coracles and wicker boats;[2] for they often went to and from Ireland,[3] and cer-

[1] It will be observed that I have given my own version of the 'Gododin' passages: I am not satisfied with any of the translations yet published.

[2] *Monthly Magazine*, September 1819.

[3] 'Note the frequent notices of emigration from Wales to Ireland, about A.D. 1170, and insert in text:—

*Annales Cambriæ*, A.D. 1167.
Book of Aberpergwm, A.D. 1169, 1172, 1173.
Gruffydd ab Cynan, 1170.
Hywel ab Owain, 1171.
Pyvog, &c., 1172, 1173, 1177.'

[Author's note inserted on revision.]

tainly had some kinds of shipping. It does not, however, appear that their ships were numerous; and it must be confessed that the testimony of Giraldus, who wrote within a few years of the reputed voyages of Madoc, is unfavourable to any supposition of their having been partial to naval pursuits; for he says expressly that the Cambrians 'pay no attention to commerce, *shipping*, or manufactures.'[1] This distaste for the sea seems to have continued to later times; and it is difficult to deny, in the face of such facts and of our own experience, that there was some truth in Lord Lyttelton's assertion that the natives of Wales are less expert as mariners than any others in Europe. There are, it is true, a few brilliant exceptions, as Captain Griffiths (commander of the 'Conqueror' at Port Royal, 1766), Sir Edward Parry, and a few others: still they were exceptions. Among such a people as we know ourselves to be in this respect, and in the face of the adverse contemporary testimony of Giraldus, we should not expect to find a great naval commander and adventurous sailors in Wales in the twelfth century; and, in the total absence of good positive testimony in favour of Madoc's discovery of America, I am compelled to decide against its probability.

### *Section IV.*—Did Madoc leave his own Country?

Having now examined the evidences in favour of what I have termed the affirmative view, and found them insufficient to prove the discovery of America, we come in the next place to consider the evidence in favour of what may be termed the tentative view.

This, it has been seen, was held by Dr. Jones, and Mr. Humphreys Parry, and less positively by the late Rev. Thomas Price. Dr. Jones held that Madoc was an eminent fisherman;

[1] Hoare's *Giraldus*, vol. ii. p. 289.

that he left his country; that his departure was lamented; and that he was lost at sea.[1] Mr. Parry held that he left his own country, but that there is no sufficient evidence to show what country he discovered. And Mr. Price contented himself with affirming that he preferred a seafaring life to contending hopelessly for landed possessions; but that, for anything more than that, it was necessary to wait for further proofs.

We are now entering into the region of pure native tradition; and it affords me pleasure to be able to state that, whatever conclusions we may draw from the facts now to be presented, there can be no good ground for doubting the authenticity of the documents in which they occur. They are found, on examination, to consist of three classes, namely:

(1) Testimonies that are irrelevant to the inquiry; (2) Affirmations that Madoc went to sea, and was never heard of more; (3) Facts showing that he died in Wales, and tending to prove that he was murdered by and among his own countrymen in Wales. We will examine them in the order of this classification.

(1) Let us first produce the passages which are, or seem to be, irrelevant. It is stated by the biographer of 'Eminent Welshmen' that 'the expeditions of Madoc are mentioned by Cynddelw, Llywarch Prydydd y Moch, Gwalchmai, and Meredydd ab Rhys';[2] but Mr. Williams could scarcely have examined their statements very carefully; for of all the passages usually cited, one alone can be thought to justify this assertion.

Apparently the least relevant of these bardic testimonies is that of Gwalchmai. After naming Owen, Cadwaladr, and Cadwallon, the three sons of Gruffydd ab Cynan, he proceeds:

[1] *Monthly Magazine*, September 1819.

[2] *Eminent Welshmen*, art. 'Madog ab Owain.'

Madog madioedd goddoli
Mwy gwnaeth vy modd no'm coddi,
Un mab Maredudd a thri meib Gruffudd,
Biau budd beirdd weini.[1]

The lines are thus translated by Mr. Humphreys Parry:

And Madog, too, of liberal heart
Delight to me would oft impart:
Yes he, Maredudd's only heir,
With Gruffydd's sons my praise shall share,
For they in proud esteem the bardic name would bear.

Here, assuming that the passage really alludes to Madoc ab Owen, there is evidently no reference to any sea voyage; but it is also evident that the Madoc of this poem was not the reputed hero of American discovery, but Madoc ab Meredydd, Prince of Powys,[2] who was a liberal patron of this bard. To him Gwalchmai addressed one or more poems; and he perpetuated his fame in a long and very beautiful elegy. This testimony of Gwalchmai's may, therefore, be dismissed as being irrelevant to this inquiry.

One of the passages from Prydydd y Moch also seems to have no reference to our present subject. Modernised, it runs thus:

Llywelyn . . . . .
Wyr Madawc ermidedd vwyvwy
Wyr Ywein virein ei avarwy.
*Myv. Arch.* vol. i. p. 301; Gee's edit. p. 213.

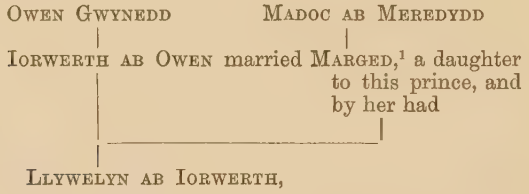
[1] *Myv. Arch.* vol. i. p. 198; Gee's edit. p. 146. I have modernised the orthography for the convenience of the reader. The passage at length, and in its original form, was given in the first chapter (*ante*, p. 16).

[2] Mr. Humphreys Parry uniformly treated this passage as being irrelevant: see the *Cambro-Briton*, vol. i. p. 60, where one of the bardic passages is said to be relevant; the Carmarthen Essay, where it is omitted; and the *Cambro-Briton*, vol. iii. p. 184, where the whole poem is translated, and these lines said to be intended for Madoc ab Meredydd.

and may be rendered in these terms:

> Llywelyn
> Grandson of Madoc,
> Grandson of Owen, grief for whom is becoming.

On the same page Llywelyn is said to be 'Wyr Madawc vreiniawc enwawc'; but it must be evident at a glance that the epithet 'vreiniawc' (*royal*) does not apply to the reputed voyager; and an examination of Llywelyn's pedigree shows that here again we have the Prince of Powys.


Owen Gwynedd
Madoc ab Meredydd
Iorwerth ab Owen married Marged, a daughter to this prince, and by her had
Llywelyn ab Iorwerth,

who was thus the grandson of both Owen Gwynedd and Madoc ab Meredydd. It was thought that an allusion to Madoc ab Owen's departure lurked in the word 'ermidedd'; but Dr. John Davies renders it 'vita eremitica,' and Richards 'an ascetic solitary life, the life of a hermit.'

And as Madoc ab Meredydd was a devout man, who feared God, and built a church at Meifod at his own cost,[2] it was probably intended to refer to his pious life, or to his death and burial; for he died in 1159, upwards of thirty-five or forty years before the date of this poem. We therefore find that this also is irrelevant.

Another of the poems of Llywarch, on which much stress has been laid, is that which refers to the 'two princes' who

[1] Sir John Wynne's *History of the Gwedir Family*, Miss Angharad Llwyd's edit. p. 21; also Williams's *Eminent Welshmen*, art. 'Iorwerth Drwyndwn.'

[2] *Eminent Welshmen*, art. 'Madoc ab Meredydd.'

broke off in wrath; but in this poem the name 'Madoc' does not occur at all. It is addressed to Rodri ab Owen;[1] and a little acquaintance with the history of this period shows that he was the person alluded to, and not Madoc. In 1175 Rodri was put in prison by his brother David; but, escaping therefrom,[2] he took possession of and expelled David from Anglesey and Gwynedd 'uwch Conwy,' above the Conway, towards the end of the same year. This is probably the subject of the reference in the poem;[3] the two princes were David and Rodri; the one 'on land in Arvon' was David; the one 'on the bosom of the great sea'—one of the designations of Mona[4]—was Rodri; and the 'claim easily guarded' was not America, but Ynys Fon, the Isle of Anglesey. The expres-

[1] It is entitled 'Arwyrein Rodri vab Ywein. Prydyt y Moch ae cant.' [*Myv. Arch.* vol. i. p. 284; Gee's edit. p. 202.]

[2] *Brut y Tywysogion*, *Myv. Arch.* vol. ii. p. 437; Gee's edit. p. 632; *Brut y Saeson*, *Myv. Arch.* vol. ii. p. 577; Gee's edit. p. 681. *Llyfr Aberpergwm*, called by uncritical writers 'The Chronicle of Caradoc,' gives 1177 as the date of his escape [*Myv. Arch.* vol. ii. p. 577; Gee's edit. p. 714]; but I have followed the older authorities.

[3] The four lines given at p. 12, *ante*, and left untranslated, bear expressly on this meeting at Aberconway, between David and Rodri:

'Near Aberconway two "draigs" met by appointment,
Two Dragons in the Strait (of the Menai),
Two taciturn ones placed on the land,
Two illustrious . . . . . armies.'

And it is scarcely possible to doubt that these lines refer to the facts mentioned in the native chronicles, and that they have no reference at all to Madoc ab Owen.

[4] The Isle of Anglesey is so called by Gwilym Ddu (A.D. 1280) (*Myv.* vol. i. p. 411; Gee's edit. p. 277):

'Mon, mynwes eigion.'
(Mona, bosom of Ocean.)

And it is evident that the epithet of the earlier bard was applied to that island. Indeed, we may consider that the latter bard had in view the passage under consideration, and that his repetition of the epithet fully establishes my position.

sion 'separated from all for a habitation' must probably be taken in connection with other lines which follow it:

Ar honn rodri mon . . . .
Duc eil ruthyr, &c.
*Myv. Arch.* vol. i. p. 284; Gee's edit. p. 202.

That is,

On this, Rodri of Mona
Made a second attack.

This refers to a later event. Rodri retained possession of Anglesey, apparently by treaty with David, for about fifteen years. He was the lord of that island in 1188, when Giraldus made his crusading tour with Archbishop Baldwin. But he lost it a few years afterwards. He was first married to Agnes, daughter of the Lord Rhys of South Wales, and by her had two sons, named Gruffydd and Einion. But after her death, being expelled about the year 1192, he went to Gotheric, king of the Isle of Man, married his daughter, and with his assistance recovered Anglesey in 1193.[1] This was probably the 'second assault' named by the poet; but he was repulsed the same year by the sons of Cynan ab Owen Gwynedd; and, in 1194, Llywelyn ab Iorwerth became king of North Wales by the aid of the sons of Rodri. What became of Rodri afterwards is not known, except that he died, and was buried at Caergybi, or Holyhead.[2]

Great stress was laid upon this passage by Mr. Humphreys Parry, and he rested much of his case upon it; but it does not stand the test of examination; and, unless I am much mistaken, it will be admitted to have no reference whatever to the matter under discussion.

[1] *Brut y Tywysogion*, *Myv. Arch.* vol. ii. p. 439; Gee's edit. p. 633; and *Brut y Saeson*, *Myv. Arch.* vol. ii. p. 580; Gee's edit. p. 683. Also Wynne's *History of the Gwedir Family*, p. 25; but Sir John was in error when he put 1243 as the date instead of 1193.

[2] *History of the Gwedir Family*, p. 25.

(2) We now approach the second class of testimonies, and will, at least, have the satisfaction of dealing with statements that are of importance. Of these the first in point of date is the passage from Meredydd ab Rhys, who says, in returning thanks for a fishing-net:

> Let Evan, of generous growth, hunt
> Upon his fair land, a true patrimony,
> In an auspicious hour, I also on water,
> With the consent of the generous one, will be a hunter.
> Madoc the bold, of expanding form,
> True whelp of Owen Gwynedd,
> Would not have land (he was my kindred soul),
> Nor great wealth, except the seas.
> I am a Madoc to my age, and his passion
> For the seas have I also shared;
> I will walk by sea and river,
> Along the strand with my circled net.

The boldness here attributed to Madoc is at variance with the placidity claimed for him by late writers, and quite accords with the character given to him by his contemporary Cynddelw; and it is quite evident that in the middle of the fifteenth century, when this poem was written, there was a distinct Madoc tradition. The only question here is, What is the purport of the passage? It clearly proves that, to Meredydd ab Rhys, Madoc had the reputation of being fond of a seafaring life, and of being eminent as a fisherman; but does it prove more than this? The Rev. Thomas Price thought it did not; and I confess that to be my opinion also; for the expressions used were clearly intended to mark an opposition between sea and land, and to show that he preferred a sea life to landed possessions; and it seems to me that they exclude the supposition that Madoc would have cared for land anywhere, either in his own country or in foreign parts. And this view is supported by the concluding lines; for how else could the bard say, 'Madog wyf im hoes' ('I am a Madog to

my age') ? The subject of comparison is evidently the piscatorial character; and the meaning of the bard certainly was that both St. Peter and Madoc resembled him in this respect.[1]

The statement of Ieuan Brechva seems to come next in point of date, though, as we have neither the original words nor a specific reference to the work from which they are taken, we cannot speak very positively on this head. All we know for certain is that this carries the tradition a step further. Ieuan Brechva may only have meant that Madoc went to Ireland; but, at most, his statement can only warrant the inference that, in his judgment, Madoc left his own country, and went across St. George's Channel. This is, however, an advance upon the statement of Meredydd ab Rhys.

We are in the same uncertainty respecting the testimony of Guttyn Owen. The reference to the 'ten ships' is evidently an advance upon the statement of the bard of Brechva; but how much more it meant, and whether it afforded any express indication as to whither Madoc went, now remains unknown. As we have his words in citation only, though Dr. Powel, in all probability, stated all that he found, we can only assert

[1] 'It is better to be the wife of a fisherman
Than of such as would not go to the water.
Peter, great was his fortune,
Was a fisherman, the best of men.
To the same pursuit will I go,
More than Peter I will not desist.'

*Iolo MSS.* pp. 324, 703.

The lines are interpreted in this sense by the Editor of the latter part of the *Iolo MSS.*, the late Rev. W. J. Rees, of Cascob. 'The passage in itself,' he says, 'contains no more than an intimation of Madoc's preferring the sea to living on land.' He adds, it is true, that 'when joined to the history given by Guttyn Owen, it assumes some degree of importance'; but as Guttyn wrote no such history, the passage must be viewed in and by itself.—*Iolo MSS.* p. 703, *note*.

the authority of Guttyn Owen so far as this, that Madoc left his country and went to sea with ten ships.[1]

The Triads of the third series present the statements of the two persons last mentioned in a still more advanced stage, and enable us to see what the native tradition really was before the voyages of Columbus. As the triad here referred to is in every way the most important of this class, it will be well to note the exact words: The third 'divancoll' of the Isle of Britain was that of '*Madog*, son of Owen

[1] [The following curious traditional tale of the ship of Madoc, reduced into writing in the year 1582, while speaking of Madoc's fondness for a seafaring life, his many voyages to foreign countries, and the wreck of his ship, says nothing of his discoveries or his fate. The story occurs in a MS. in the possession of the Rev. D. Silvan-Evans, B.D., is in the orthography of Griffith Roberts's *Welsh Grammar* (A.D. 1567), and in the handwriting of Roger Morris, and was published in a modernised orthography in *Y Brython* for 1863, p. 471.

'Madoc ap Owain gwyned oed voriwr mawr a chwannoc i drafel ac am na ale o vod aral entrio ir Sygned gwneüthür ac adeilad a wnaeth long heb hayarn ond i hoylio a chyrn keirw rhac lynckü or mor hwnnw hi ai galw oi gwneüthüriad *Gwennan gorn* ac ynn honno i nofiod y moroed wrth i blesser ac i trafaeliod i lawer or wledyd tra mor ynn diarsuyd ond wrth dymchwelyd adre ynn gyfagos at Ynys Enli yr yskyttiod phrydie yno hi yn greülon ac ai hamharod ymhel ac am hynny vyth hyd hediw i gelwir y mann hwnnw ar y mor Phrydie *Kaswennan* yr ystori honn a doeth o law buy gilyd dann warät gredadwy o hynny hyd hediw. / vely i dyvod Edwart ap Sion wynn i mi 1582 y 13 o Vis Mawrth.'

('Madoc ap Owain Gwynedd was a great sailor, fond of travel, and since he could not otherwise enter the Vortex he made and built a ship without iron, but nailed with stags' horns, lest that sea should swallow her up, and he called her from her make *Horn-Gwennan*, and in her he sailed the seas at his pleasure, and fearlessly voyaged to many foreign countries. But in returning home, near Bardsey Island, the currents there shattered her cruelly, and greatly damaged her; and therefore is that part of the sea called, from that day to this, "the currents of Gwennan's Bane." This story has come down from hand to hand, under credible warranty, from that time to this day. So Edward ap Sion Wynn told me, this 13th March, 1582.')

Another copy of this story occurs in *Hengwrt MS.* No. 337.

Gwynedd, who went to sea *with three hundred men in ten ships*, AND IT IS NOT KNOWN TO WHAT PLACE THEY WENT.'[1]

It must be quite evident that the first and last clauses expressly exclude all reference to America, or to any known location, and that they are directly opposed to the idea that Madoc had made any such discovery. Mr. Humphreys Parry, therefore, overrated this passage when he inferred 'that Madoc left Wales, but that, with respect to the particular country he discovered, there is no positive evidence'; for the triad affirms no discovery at all; and it would evidently have been looked upon as a disqualification for inclusion in this triad if any such discovery had been made; for it could not then be said that the place whither he went was wholly unknown; while it is evidently a part of the very essence and intention of the triadic statement to say that he was never heard of more. Still less is there any indication here that he had discovered new lands in the West; had returned home, reporting the result of his voyage; and departed thence a second time. It may be presumed, assuming that he had gone away at all, that he had some object in view; but no hint is given as to what that may have been. On the other hand, there is an indication that, whatever his object was, he had failed to attain it. The exact meaning of the word *divancoll* does not appear to be known. It is sometimes rendered 'loss by disappearance'; by Dr. Pughe, who falsified a quotation to support his version, it is translated 'devastation'; and by Humphreys Parry 'vanished loss.' The word occurs only three times in our ancient literature; the first time in Davydd ab Gwilym; once in the Triads of the second series, in connection with the straying of Gavran ab Aeddan;[2]

[1] [*Triads*, ser. iii. tr. 10; *Myv. Arch.* vol. ii. p. 59; Gee's edit. p. 401.]

[2] [*Triads*, ser. ii. tr. 34 ('Tri Diweir Deulu'), *Myv. Arch.* vol. ii. p. 7; Gee's edit. p. 390.]

and in the triad under consideration. It seems to mean 'straying.' Davydd relates his adventure, on amorous thoughts intent, on a winter's night, when he lost his way, stumbled over frozen ditches, ponds, and other obstructions, and imagines himself to die of the cold caught thereby. His ghost, he says, would be seen, 'a sad object, because of death from straying (oherwydd trangc difangcoll), and fittingly, all over ice' (Works, p. 387). If this be the meaning of the word, the Triad merely affirms that Madoc went astray, and that it is not known where he went.

These passages fall short of proving the discovery by Prince Madoc of any unknown lands; and being manifestly of a traditional character, capable of solution into simpler forms, and exhibiting the phenomena of growth, they have no claim to take the place of authentic history; but, waiving these considerations, they may be admitted to afford presumptive evidence that Madoc left the Principality, unless there be some other evidence of an opposite character.

(3) Leaving this matter in suspense for a while, let us now proceed to examine the third class of facts, mentioned above.

On examining the evidences on the subject of Madoc and his reputed discoveries, most persons have been surprised to find that there is no notice whatever of any naval expeditions of the kind named in the pages of any contemporary historian. If the statements were true, they could scarcely have been thought unimportant; and, if Madoc had returned from a strange land, it is utterly incredible that none of the annalists of the time would have placed the fact on record; yea, even if he had gone to sea with ten ships and three hundred men, and never returned, it is fairly to be presumed that the fact would have found an historian. But no such record appears. 'Brut y Tywysogion' says nothing of any such expedition, neither does it name Madoc at all; the three other 'Bruts'

published in the 'Myvyrian Archaiology' are all equally silent; and all the MSS. of 'Brut y Tywysogion' at Hengwrt and elsewhere are equally destitute of any reference to Madoc, or his reputed voyages and discoveries. Giraldus Cambrensis visited North Wales in 1188, within eighteen years of the reputed date of the expedition; and he, who was so ready to seize upon such marvels, would undoubtedly have mentioned the fact if he had heard it; but he has not a word upon the subject; and this silence is ominous, for, had it been a fact, some priest, if no other person, would surely have told him.

The inference deducible from these negative indications is seen to be strengthened by two bardic poems, both of which assert that Madoc was slain at home; and one of them indicates that he was murdered. The latter of these is the 'Ode to the Hot Iron,' by Llywarch Prydydd y Moch; and from that, as given in the first chapter,[1] it appears (1) that Madoc was slain by an assassin; (2) that Llywarch was suspected of the murder; (3) that he denied the charge, as he does in addressing 'the Hot Iron':

> From having with my hand and blade slain the blessed one,
> From being accessory to a murderous deed,
> Good iron exonerate me: that when the assassin
> Slew Madoc, he received not (the blow) from my hand;

and that he was put upon his trial for the murder. He was evidently threatened with the trial by ordeal when he composed this poem; but it is not known whether the threat was put in practice. At any rate, it would seem that he was acquitted; for the poem must have been composed before 1169, and he was living forty or fifty years later. This poem is utterly at variance with the notion that the Madoc mentioned in it had openly left his country, and even with that which affirms that he was lost at sea; for the fact that he

[1] [*Ante*, pp. 11, 12.]

died at home is distinctly indicated; the statement that he was murdered is equally explicit; and, if the poem really refers to Madoc ab Owen, as I believe it does, it saps the foundation of the popular narrative.

The other poem is still more significant. It is entitled 'MARWNAD TEILU YWEIN GWYNET,' and was attributed to Llywelyn Vardd; but the copy in the 'Myvyrian' has the inscription 'Cyndelw ai cant'; and the internal evidences favour that statement. At the first glance one is apt to think that the title includes all the seventeen sons of Owen Gwynedd; but, on closer examination, we find that the word 'Teilu,' or *Family*, here includes only so many of the family of Owen as had died towards the latter end of his life; for the poem opens with an invocation to Owen himself; it does not include the names of his sons David, Howel, Maelgwn, Rodri, and others who survived their father, and must have been composed shortly before the year 1169, when Owen died. The poem commences thus:

Ewein arwyrein aur wron Kymry
Kymroeyd orchordyon
Mur metgyrn mechdeyrn mon
Meu hoet am hoetyl y dragon.[1]

Or, in English:

Owen I extol, golden hero of Cambria,
Of Kymric retinues;
Bulwark of mead-horns, monarch of Môn,
Sorrow is mine for the life of the dragon.

And it thus becomes clear that Owen was living at the time, though far gone in years. The bard then mentions first the name of Llywelyn, one of the sons of Owen; afterwards, a long string of others now unknown; and towards the end introduces the verse on Madoc:

[1] *Myv. Arch.* vol. i. p. 224; Gee's edit. p. 163.

Eny llas Madawc mur dygyvorth var,
Meu avar car cynnorth
Oet anwas cas cad ehorth
Oet anwar par yn y porth.

The Llywelyn here named died in the year 1164;[1] and thus it is seen that the poem was composed after that date, and before the year 1169. Madoc must, therefore, have been killed between these two dates, in the lifetime of his father, and probably not later than 1168.

Bearing these points in mind, let us now proceed to render the verse into English, and to apply the facts connected therewith to the subject of our inquiry. Dr. Owen Pughe, then Mr. William Owen, altered, as I have already intimated, the word 'mur' into 'myr,'[2] and made the verse to testify that Madoc had been killed 'by the overwhelming wrath of the seas'; but the verse makes no reference to the sea whatever; the original reading is 'mur'; and anyone who knows anything of our old poetry is well aware that this metaphor is applied very commonly. It occurs in two other instances in this very poem; Owen Gwynedd is termed 'mur meddgyrn,' and his son Morgant is called 'mur gawr.' It is also applied, in the very next poem, five times in succession, to the Lord Rhys:[3]

Mur mawrgor, &c.
Mur mawrdir, &c.
Mur mawrdut, &c.
Mur mawrdaryf, &c.
Mur mawrdreis, &c.

And hence I presume there can be but little doubt that 'mur'

[1] [*Brut y Tywysogion*, *Myv. Arch.* vol. ii. p. 432; Gee's edit. p. 629.]

[2] Mr. Humffreys Parry also indulges in this misrepresentation, though he expressly refers to the *Myv. Arch.* vol. i. p. 225 [Gee's edit. p. 164], where the true reading occurs (*Carmarthen Essay*, p. 31). [See Pughe's Dictionary, s.v. 'Myr,' for a different rendering of the word—*e.g.* '*Myr* meddgyrn' is translated by '*spirit* of mead-horns.']

[3] *Myv. Arch.* vol. i. p. 226; Gee's edit. p. 164.

is the proper reading. Assuming that, the verse was thus rendered in Chapter I.:[1]

> Since Madoc, the bulwark of swelling rage, was slain,
> I mourn a helping friend:
> The virile one was fierce in the busy fight,
> He was an arrogant commander in the portal.

And there can scarcely be any room to doubt that this is a fair representation of the poet's meaning.

Let us, then, proceed to apply the facts thus obtained to the allegations usually made in reference to Madoc. He was (so Dr. Powel affirms) an illegitimate son;[2] and, at a time when the commanding abilities of his brother Howel failed to wash out the stain of illegitimacy, he could not have possessed a very large amount of influence. Howel, though he failed to obtain a throne, had a celebrity which extended itself over the whole of Wales, and obtained for him an honourable place in Welsh history, both as a warrior and as a poet; but Madoc has no place in the annals of that time, and could scarcely have displayed abilities of a high order, else this silence is unaccountable. All the allegations respecting him break down when closely examined. He is said to have been of a placid disposition; but Cynddelw says he was 'the bulwark of swelling rage,' 'fierce in the busy fight, and an arrogant commander in the portal.' He is said by Owen and others to have been overwhelmed by the sea; but the verse cited in evidence makes no reference to the sea at all. He is said to have sailed on a voyage of discovery in 1170; but we find that he must have been killed two years at least before that date. His departure is said to have been deplored; but the passage relied on in support of this refers to Madoc ab Meredydd, Prince of Powys. He is said to have sought a

[1] *Ante*, p. 10.

[2] Wynne's edition of Powel's *Historie of Cambria*, p. 194, edit. 1812; Rev. T. Price, *Hanes Cymru*, p. 580.

peaceful settlement in foreign lands; but the nearest proof on this point only indicates that he disliked landed possessions, and preferred a seafaring life. It is said he was led to take this step in consequence of the dissensions of his brethren after the death of his father; but we find that Owen was yet living, while Cynddelw sang the elegy of Madoc; and Prydydd y Moch was tried upon a charge of having been either a principal or an accessory to his death. We are told that he discovered strange lands, returned home, and sailed away a second time; and yet his contemporaries are as silent as the grave as to anything of the sort. And we are further told that he went to sea, and was never heard of more; but his contemporaries affirm that he came to a violent death in his own country, point to his dead body, sing his 'In Memoriam,' and try his suspected murderers. Thus, on every point, the statements of Madoc's contemporaries, whose incidental testimony is free from any suspicion, and is necessarily of the highest authority, is directly at variance with, and completely upsets, all the allegations usually made. Again, he appears to have had a family, and they remained in Wales; for at a later date we find persons tracing their descent from him. Edward Morus, slain at Llanfyllin fair, 1689, is thus described:

> Gwiwddyn gweddaidd mewn tangnefedd,
> O hil Madog, enwog annedd, ab Owain Gwynedd gain.
> (Huw Morus, *Poems*, vol. ii. p. 221.)
>
> A good man,—
> Of the race of Madoc, of celebrated residence,
> Son of the brilliant Owen Gwynedd.

It does not seem to be known at the present day where this 'celebrated residence' was; but it may, seeing that his brother Iorwerth possessed the Commot of Ardudwy, in Merionethshire, have been Gallt Vadog, near Barmouth. There is a place called Cae Madog in the same parish

(Llanaber), and a Havod Vadog in the parish of Llanvor in the same county. Conan, one of Owen's seventeen illegitimate sons, is said to have had Merioneth,[1] hence called by Giraldus 'Terra filii Conani.' Possibly his illegitimate brethren had shares of it also.

Relying on these bardic passages, the late Rev. Walter Davies said, 'I believe it may be proved from indisputable documents that Madog ab Owen Gwynedd . . . fell by the sword in his own country'; [2] and as a competent critic, and one of the most clear-headed of Welshmen, his opinion carries with it much weight. Can we honestly arrive at any other conclusion? We have carefully and conscientiously examined every scrap of evidence adduced in favour of the Madoc narrative; and yet have we not found them to be

> Like Dead Sea fruit, that tempt the eye,
> But turn to ashes on the lip?

We examined the plausible tale of the 'Welsh Indians,' and patiently considered the numerous 'proofs' adduced on their behalf; and yet, did we not find that in many instances the statements were deliberate falsehoods, and that in all there was gross credulity? Transferring our attention to home authorities, we found an abundance of confident assertions; and yet, in all instances, did not the affirmative evidences turn out to be either mere conjectures or total misconceptions?

Ascending to the more respectable platform of pure Welsh tradition, have we not found that the statements were still of a shadowy character, and that the basis of fact became smaller and smaller as we approached the time when Madoc lived, moved, and had his being? Arriving among the contem-

[1] Wynne's *History of the Gwedir Family*, p. 359 (in Barrington's Miscellanies: London, 1781).

[2] *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine* (1829), vol. i. p. 440.

poraries of the traditional voyager, have we not found them totally unconscious of everything usually alleged respecting 'the true whelp of Owen Gwynedd,' and not only unconscious of these allegations, but affording indications strikingly inconsistent with almost every portion of the national legend? In an era redolent of bards and bardism, we might have expected to find poets and annalists lauding the wonderful sailor, voyager, and discoverer; and had he been so in reality, he most certainly would not have been left unhonoured and unsung; but, instead of that, we find his contemporaries mourning his death, distinctly affirming him to have been killed at home, among his own kinsmen, and trying parties charged with his murder. After such an examination, ending in such results, it is, in my judgment, impossible honestly to arrive at any other conclusion than that of the Rev. Walter Davies. In answer, therefore, to the question proposed at the head of this section, I have to state, after a careful and, it is believed, fair consideration of all the evidence, that Madoc the son of Owen Gwynedd never left Wales, but came to a violent death in his own country, in the lifetime of his father, and from two to six years before the assigned date of his first alleged voyage.

This narrative must, therefore, cease to be accounted historical; and it is to be hoped that my countrymen may henceforth feel that they degrade themselves, and heap discredit upon our motherland, by giving credence to this idle and unfounded tale.

### *Section V.*—The Growth of the Legend.

The early literatures of almost all nations abound in legendary elements; and whether we view the histories of Greece, Rome, Germany, or the far East, we shall find abundant evidences of this fact. As to Greece, we have the

evidences of the fact in the Homeric and Cyclic poems, in the pages of Herodotus, the Pindaric Odes, and the dramas of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. 'The Heroic Legends of Ancient Rome' have been preserved by Livy, disengaged from the body of Roman history by the sagacious Niebuhr, and ably illustrated in the metrical versions of Lord Macaulay. In Germany, the long poem called the 'Nibelungen Lied' is a great storehouse of historic legends. And the ancient literatures of Arabia, Persia, and India, which are slowly becoming known in the West, exhibit the same fact, in the legendary histories of Antar, Rustum, Sohrab, Krishna, Damayanti, and a host of others. In France, also, do we not find a cluster of legends around the name of Charlemagne?

If, therefore, the literature of Wales were free from, and destitute of, historic legends, the Kymry would form a grand exception to the general rule of other nations, and would sink at once into an inferior position; for the absence of legendary lore indicates a want of imagination in the people; and a deficiency of imagination is proof of intellectual sterility. But this character cannot, and does not, apply to the Kymry; for it is almost a proverbial saying that 'a Kymro has imagination enough for fifty poets,' though, it is added, 'without judgment enough for one.' Here, then, are the constituents of legendary literature; and will anyone say that, when the soil is so well adapted for their growth, historic legends have no place in the Principality of Wales? On the contrary, has it not been the nursery of fables, legends, and romances for the whole of Europe? Did not the Arthurian romances, current in Wales in the twelfth century, and first introduced into European literature by Geoffrey of Monmouth, find their way into, and expand and fructify in, England, France, Spain, Italy, Greece, Germany, and Scandinavia? And have we not still in our own language a whole series of 'Mabinogion'? Have we not already in print the 'Mabinogion' of Bran ab

Llyr, of Pwyll and Pryderi, of Lludd and Llevelys, of Kilhwch and Olwen, of the Lady of the Fountain, of Geraint ab Erbin, of Peredur ab Evrawc, and the bard Taliesin? Do we not know that 'Ystori Bown o Hamtwn,' 'Ystori Gwlad Ieuan Vendigaid,' 'Ystori Idrian Amherawdyr ag Ipotis Ysprydawl,' and 'Ystori mal yr aeth Mair i Nef,' are rotting and being worm-eaten in the libraries of North Wales? And are not all the antiquarians of Wales shaking in their shoes lest the famous 'Ystori Seynt Greal,' which Gutto'r Glyn called 'Llyfr o grefft yr holl Ford Gron,' should meet at Rhug with the same fate as the manuscripts at Hafod, and the library of Sir Watkin Williams Wynn recently at Wynnstay? Heaven forbid that this valuable MS. should meet such a fate; and I trust that Cambrian archæologists will raise their voices in favour of having this story, which has never been published, speedily made known to the world at large.[1]

Who, then, shall say that the Kymry are destitute of imagination, or that the native mind of Wales is unfavourable to the growth of historic legend? And if they indulged in fiction in past times, have they completely changed their nature since? If they clothed the actions of Arthur, Geraint, Peredur, Owain ab Urien, Gwalchmai, Kai, and Klydno in a romantic garb, who shall say that they stopped there, and that the same imaginative faculty may not have been at work, shaping the imputed adventures of Madoc ab Owen?

Assuming that there is no antecedent improbability in that supposition, let us notice the story in its various forms, and see whether it does not exhibit the phenomenon of development, and present a legendary character. We find, then, as a fact admitting of no doubt, that Madoc was killed

[1] [The author had the satisfaction of living to see the calamity here so fervently deprecated happily averted, and the *Seynt Greal*, and several of the other MSS. mentioned above, published through the liberality of their owner, the late Mr. W. W. E. Wynne of Peniarth, in the series of *Hengwrt MSS.* edited by the late Canon Williams.]

at home, and by the hand of an assassin; and it is evident that the murder was secret, and instigated by some powerful motive, whether political or otherwise; for it is probable that the assassin was hired for the purpose, as Prydydd y Moch only claims to be exonerated from having himself struck the blow, and does not profess to have no knowledge of the murder, while it is clear that he was a warm partisan of Rodri ab Owen. There was a mystery, therefore, about the death of Madoc, and that is what the human mind generally abhors. Many conjectures would, therefore, get into circulation, and in the lapse of time and space the popular imagination would multiply their number, and crystallise them into alleged facts.

The chief difficulty in explaining the growth of this story is encountered at the first step—that is, in accounting for the seafaring reputation of Prince Madoc. He may have been fond of the sea for all that we know, and the framers of the original legend may have had some traditional information on this head that we have not; but there is no reference to any seafaring taste in the poems of his contemporaries, and we have, therefore, no right to assume the existence of any such testimony. Hence the difficulty. The Rev. Walter Davies, admitting that 'we have no authority for supposing that he [Madoc] ever sailed beyond Ireland or the Isle of Man, or even that he ever boarded a skiff, save over the straits of the Menai, and that he met, as is above hinted, with a violent death in his native land,' suggested that 'the perpetrators of the nefarious deed, to account for his disappearance, spread a report that he had collected a fleet and set sail in quest of a more pacific settlement.'[1] But this explanation does not seem satisfactory, for there could have been no doubt of his death among his contemporaries, as Cynddelw affirms that he was killed; and Prydydd y Moch, in denying his participation

[1] *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine*, vol. i. p. 441.

in the murder, yet admits and affirms the fact. The story, therefore, is not likely to have been either invented or circulated at that time, and it was probably only after the lapse of a couple of centuries, when the fact of the murder had been resolved by time into a 'disappearance,' that imagination, which

> . . . bodies forth
> The forms of things unknown . . .
> . . . and gives to airy nothing
> A local habitation and a name,

gave a definite form to the disappearance of Madoc.

The traditions of various countries furnish many illustrations of this kind. National heroes, though dead, still lived in the native traditions. The fate of Arthur must have been well known to his contemporaries, but in later times he was said to be still alive, and he will

> Come again, they say,
> Blowing trumpets into day.

King Sebastian lived in Portuguese tradition long after his death; the Cid Rodrigo was expected for centuries to reappear and redress the wrongs of the Spaniards; it is said that the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa still lives in the popular traditions of Germany; and, on a recent visit to Ireland, I found that the O'Donoghue still 'lives' beneath the Lakes of Killarney, and that the boatmen of that lake really believe that he occasionally reappears.

Neither did local knowledge prevent the formation of legends analogous to that of Madoc. The death of Aristobulus, Joseph of Arimathea, and St. Paul, must have been known to their contemporaries; but in later traditions Aristobulus and St. Paul preached to the Britons, and Joseph founded the Abbey of Glastonbury. Nero's fate must have been well known in Rome; but the Book of Revelation furnishes evidence of the existence of a fabulous statement, even among

his contemporaries, that he had gone to the East, and was expected to reappear. Mexican history furnishes a parallel in the tradition of Quetzalcoatl; and mediæval romance represents Charlemagne to have visited Jerusalem, and to have contended with 'Hugun le Fort, Emperor of Constantinople,' or the Hu Gadarn of the Kymric Triads. Nor are such parallels wanting in the traditions of Wales itself. St. David was said to have visited the Holy City, as also was King Arthur; and King Cadwaladr, who died in Wales, was said to have gone to Rome, and was expected to return in order to expel the Saxon intruders.

And it is not improbable that the genesis of the Madoc legend may be satisfactorily explained. There were two precedents already existing, in or about the fourteenth century, when the formation of Triads began to become a recognised form of literary composition. The first of these was that of Gavran ab Aeddan, whose fate is thus indicated:

'The three faithful families of the Isle of Britain. The family of Cadwallawn when they wore fetters; the family of Gavran ab Aeddan, when the "diuankoll" was; and the family of Gwenddolau ab Ceïdio, at Arderyd, who continued the fight a fortnight and a month after their lord was slain. And the number of each of these families was 2,100 men.'[1]

The name Gavran ab Aeddan is a mistake, for Aeddan was a king of the Scots, who died in A.D. 607, and Gavran was his father; but Aeddan had a son named Conan, who was drowned in the sea in the year 622,[2] and that fact is the basis of this legend. The second series of Triads gives a further insight into the nature of this 'divancoll' or disappearance,

[1] *Triads*, oldest series, from the *Llyfr Coch* (14th century); *Myv. Arch.* vol. ii. p. 16; Gee's edit. p. 397. [This series, although the oldest in point of date, is given as series ii. in the *Myv. Arch.*]

[2] *Tighernac*, quoted by O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, p. 475: 'DCXXII. Conangus regis Aidani filius mari demersus.' [See a long and interesting note upon Aeddan ab Gavran in Stephens's *Gododin*, recently

and states that this family 'went to sea for their lord'—*a aethant i'r mor dros eu harglwyd.*[1] And the third series states the object, that 'they went to sea in quest of the "Gwerddonau Llion," or Green Isles of Ocean, and were never heard of more.'[2] This 'divancoll' seems to have been the only one known to the compilers of the first and second series of Triads, but it is possible that this may have suggested the form given to the 'divancoll' of Madoc; and most certainly, when a second 'divancoll' had been framed from the legend of Merddin Emrys, the nine bards, and the 'Glass House,' which of course is a complete fiction, the temptation would have been very strong to make Madoc complete the Triad. The suggestion that he was lost at sea would naturally arise from, and be confirmed by, these two precedents, even without any nucleus of fact.

However this may be, it is quite clear that, in the time of Meredydd ab Rhys, Madoc had obtained the character of a sailor, a fisherman, and lover of the sea. It is possible, indeed, that the origin of this legend may be traced to the words of Llywarch [Prydydd y Moch], 'Ar vynwes mor,' &c., and that Meredydd ab Rhys may have thought they referred to Madoc. Such a misconception in an unlettered age would have been natural, and far more pardonable than that of such men as Dr. Pughe and Humffreys Parry in later times. Ieuan Brechva's story is an advance upon the words of Meredydd ab Rhys; Guttyn Owen's 'ten ships' is a still further advance; and the last addition, the 'three hundred men' of the Triad, probably represents its complete form as a native legend. Up to this time, the close of the fifteenth century, there was evidently no supposition that any discovery had been made

edited for the Cymmrodorion Society, by Professor Powel, pp. 280 *et seq.*]

[1] *Myv. Arch.* vol. ii. p. 7; Gee's edit. p. 390 [series i. tr. 34].

[2] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 59; Gee's edit. p. 401 [series iii. tr. 10].

by Gavran, Merddin, or Madoc; and of the latter and his three hundred men, the Triads of the third series, composed not earlier than the close of the fifteenth century, expressly assert that 'it is not known whither they went,' and that the place where they were lost was utterly unknown. And it is in the highest degree probable that, if no such discovery had been made by Columbus, no such claim would have been made on behalf of Prince Madoc.

Thus, up to the very close of the fifteenth century, this tradition, in its pure Kymric form, did not pretend to affirm that Madoc had discovered any Western lands, nor to know whither he had gone; but when the discovery of America took place, and became generally known, and not before, the Madoc legend assumed a new form, and adapted itself to the facts thus published to the world. Before the voyages of Columbus, it is expressly said that 'it was not known' whither Madoc went; but, the new lands having been found, there was no longer any mystery about the matter; and patriotic Welshmen easily convinced themselves that Madoc went to America. Humphrey Llwyd could now clearly mark the course he took; declare, with all the appearance of historical authority, that he sailed to the West, leaving Ireland to the North; and affirm, without hesitation, that Madoc *must* have landed where the Spaniards did. But the *must* of Llwyd failed to satisfy Powel; and, having the results of Mexican conquests before him, he sought and found, to his own satisfaction, traces of the Madogian settlement in that locality. Hornius and Hakluyt, who, for reasons of their own, fixed the settlement in Virginia, circulated the new tale; and Sir Thomas Herbert, who is erroneously supposed to have drawn his materials from the library of Raglan Castle, adorned the narrative with details from the voyages of Columbus, as Llwyd and Powel had done before him; and having a cordial hatred of the Spaniards, who were then the enemies of England,

he claimed the priority of discovery for the Cambrian Prince. Then followed the crowning glory of the poetic epitaph found in Mexico, upon the tomb of 'the true whelp of Owen Gwynedd.'

Up to this point there had been no suspicion of Welsh Indians. Llwyd was of opinion that Madoc and his followers had neither preserved their language nor remained a distinct people; for he expressly says that, 'because this people were not manie, they followed the manners of the land they came unto, and used the language they found there.' But, as time rolled on, the story grew; Morgan Jones preached to the Welsh Indians in Silurian Kymraeg; Welsh Bibles were found among them; and every confirmation that falsehood and credulity could invent and credit were eagerly pressed into the service, until the Kymry, wise and foolish, learned and unlearned, elevated the existence of the Welsh Indians into an article of national faith, and believed as firmly that Madoc crossed the Atlantic and settled on the Missouri as that Moses crossed the Red Sea, and that the Israelites occupied the land of Canaan. Southey made the reputed discovery the subject of an epic poem; and the story, through the zeal of William Owen and Edward Williams, and the genius of the late Poet Laureate,[1] gained very general acceptance.

Then came a reaction. Tangible proofs were demanded of these confident assertions. Searches were made for the Welsh Indians; but they could not be found. The survey of Lewis and Clarke, as well as the journeys of Evans and Roberts, proved that they did not exist; Southey's epic was found to rest on 'the baseless fabric of a vision'; and ever since the credit of the whole story has rapidly declined, so that at the present moment it is generally discredited, and not a single living writer of any standing in literature can be

[1] [The allusion here is to Southey; this work having been written a few years after his death, and in the lifetime of Tennyson.]

named as a positive authority in its favour. My readers and myself have now carefully examined the evidence, in order to form our own judgment; and I shall marvel much if any candid reader rises from the perusal of these pages with any other impression than that the story is not founded on facts.

Seeing, then, that we have here a legend, and not an historic narrative, it behoves us seriously to consider whether we are not wantonly trifling with our national character, and bringing our name and country into much discredit, by boasting of glories which do not belong to us, while neglecting to perform duties which would really enlarge our name and fame; and by thrusting in the faces of English and Continental scholars assertions which we cannot prove and they will not believe. The Madoc story has already done us very serious injury; it has lowered our character as truthful men, and lost us much of our credit as a literary people. How long are we to continue this ruinous practice? The story is clearly a legend, and has had its day; and it is rather late for us even to retrieve our lost ground. But let us do our duties, late as it is. Let us put the legend in its proper place in the list of our 'Mabinogion.' Let us show that we are not incapable either of self-analysis or of historical criticism; and let us show that we have, in our ancient history, literature, and language, honours enough that are really our own, without filching the glories or tarnishing the renown of Christopher Columbus.

We inherit, and still fluently speak, one of the parent languages of the world; let it be our aim to illustrate it worthily, and obtain for it an honoured place in comparative philology. We have an ancient literature, which Europe expects us to translate and illustrate: be it our pleasing duty to gratify the expectation. We have an honourable history, as yet unwritten, and existing in bardic materials: may we seek to study these records, to write our annals honestly

and thoroughly, and to present such pictures of our forefathers and ourselves, as from their fidelity shall obtain for us lasting honours, when the fables which form the texts of stump-oratory have been scattered to the four winds of heaven. Our fathers did their duties in their days and generations; let us be worthy inheritors of their fame, and discharge the duties of our own day, manfully and well, so that our names also shall savour as sweetly in the nostrils of our posterity as those of our ancestors do in ours.

TERFYNAIS.

# APPENDIX.

## MADOC LITERATURE.

### I.

Honoured Cousin,—This is a copy of the paper which my dear brother T. K. sent unto me from New York, in America, which I promised to give you a copy of when I was at Trefnanny, and which thou hast a desire to let the Bishop of St. Asaph[1] see. My long absence from home hindered me till now ; but to elucidate things a little to thyself, as well as to that great antiquary, give me leave to premise a few things of the occasion of it. Myself and brother, some years since, discoursed with cousin Thomas Price, of Llanvilling, on this subject ; and he told us that one Stedman, of Brecknockshire, was, about thirty years ago, more or less, on the coast of America, in a Dutch bottom, and, being about to land for refreshment, the natives kept them off by force, till at last this Stedman told his fellow Dutch seamen that he understood what the natives spoke: the Dutch bid him speak to them, and they were thereupon very courteous ; they supplied them with the best things they had ; and these men told Stedman that they came from a country called Gwynedd in Prydain Fawr. This was the substance of it as far as I can remember. It was, as I think, betwixt Virginia and Florida or Mexico. This discourse is said to be attested by the dying man. Oliver Humphreys, a merchant, lately dead (whose wife was, not long since, at St. Asaph, to prove his nuncupative will), told me that he spoke, when he lived at Surinam, with an English privateer or pirate, who, being near Florida a-careening his vessel, had learnt, as he

[1] Dr. William Lloyd. (T.S.)

thought, the Indian language, which my friend said was perfect Welsh ; and, to omit other uncertain relations and conjectures, Sir Thomas Herbert hints at this about the last half of his book of Travels to the East Indies, and he cites Dr. Powel's chronicle, or rather his annotator's, H. Lloyd [1] of Denbigh, for confirmation of it ; both which, or one of them, are said to extract this relation out of Gitto of Glyn, and, as I remember, in Owen Gwynedd, or his son David's life, for I have not the book by me at present, it being now in Herefordshire, in which place it is said that five or six ships went from Anglesey towards the south-west, leaving Ireland on the right hand, and found at last this country, and returned back and persuaded his countrymen not to strive with the English, or kill one another about so barren a country, for that he hath lately found a better with few or no inhabitants ; and upon this about eleven ships went away, full of Britons, which were never heard of to any purpose until now. My brother having heard this, and meeting with this Jones at New York, he desired him to write it with his own hand in my brother's house ; and to please me and my cousin, Thomas Price, he sent me the original. This Jones lived within twelve miles of New York, and was contemporary with me and my brother at Oxford. He was of Jesus College, and called then Senior Jones for distinction. The names being not inserted as modern writers do write them nowadays ; but I bid the clerk transcribe according to the original. The bishop will soon rectify them, or any geographer : I was willing to leave the apographon to be like the autographon. But, if I may speak my sentiments, the Doeg Indians may be corrupted from the Madog Indians, and Cape Atros may be Cape Hatterash, near Cape Fair in Carolina ; for he saith that these British Indians be seated on Pantigo river, near Cape Atros. This Pantigo is perhaps some old name, yet hath a British sound. He names Cape Fair, not Feir ; *quære an idem?* He names Port Royal, which is now in Carolina. Then he fled towards Virginia. The Tuscorara Indians and Doeg Indians are placed there in the new maps of the English empire. I suppose his flight, and finding deliverance from his unexpected countrymen, was about Bacon's rebellion in Virginia, and was with the Indians about 1669. This Jones promised to bring any thither, his charges being borne, in a month's time from New York.

[1] Powel was the annotator of H. Lloyd. (T.S.)

Bear with my hasty one hour's descant, the bearer being in haste, which I thought once to publish more largely in print, if some more worthy would not attempt it. If I came near the bishop, I might enlarge about this and some other things of antiquity, of which I had some cursory discourse with him at London.

I am,

Thy much obliged friend and kinsman,

CHARLES LLOYD.[1]

M. Day
Dolobran: 8 14 ¾ (*i.e.* August 14, 1704).

## II.

### *JOHN EVANS'S LETTER.*

### 'TAITH AT Y MADOGION.'

*Copi o Lythyr oddiwrth* JOHN EVANS *o'r* WAUNFAWR, *yn* ARFON, *at ei Frawd.*

Baltimore: Dydd Gwyl Stephan, 1792.

ANWYL FRAWD,—Nid yw yr ehangder sydd rhyngof â thydi, yn lleihau dim ar y gwreiddiol gariad sydd yn fy nghalon tu ag attoch oll. Llawer a feddyliais am danoch, pan oeddwn wedi fy amgylchi gan fynyddoedd o donau ar y cefnfor; yn ganlynol ti a gai ychydig o'm hanes: Mi a gyrhaeddais y Porthladd yma, y degfed o *Ragfyr*; gan mai y neges fwyaf gennyf oedd ymholi ynghylch yr *Indiaid Cynmreig*; er mwyn dwyn ar ddyall i ti pwy wyf yn feddwl wrth *Indiaid Cynmreig*, rhaid it wybod ddarfod i *Fadawg ab Owain Gwynedd* hwylio gyd â deg o longau i eigion y Gorllewin yn y flwyddyn 1170: yr *Indiaid Cynmreig* ydynt hiliogaeth y gŵr enwog hwnnw, wedi amlhau yn genhedl liosog, yn awr, yn preswylio y wlad ehangaf a ffrwythlonaf dan haul, o ddeutu i dair mil o filltiroedd yn y gorllewin oddi yma. Myfi, dy ffyddlonaf frawd sydd wedi cymmeryd arnaf y gwaith o fyned i'w plith.

Mor ddedwydd wyf yn tybied fy hun o gael bod yngwaith fy anwyl Iesu, y Person bendigedig hwnnw a gymmerodd arno ein natur ni, ac ynddi a foddlonodd ddwyfol gyfiawnder. Bendigedig,

[1] Published in Owen's *British Remains*, pp. 107–111.

ïe, bendigedig a fyddo ei enw yn dragywydd, efe a fu yn gymmorth i mi, yn wyneb mil o brofedigaethau, pan oedd pob noddfa arall wedi pallu, i'r agen hon o'r Graig gorfu i'm ddiangc, a chefais ddiogelwch : y Gwr sydd yn noddfa rhag y gwynt, ac yn lloches rhag y dymhestl a wnaeth i mi cyn hyn edrych angeu yn ei wyneb pan yr oedd o fewn modfedd i mi, a hynny gyd â sirioldeb. Yr ydwyf yn meddwl mai fy nyledswydd yw gogoneddu ei enw, os gallaf, drwy agor y drws i'r efengyl dragywyddol fyned i blith y trueiniaid hyn, fy mrodyr ; am hynny yr ydwyf wedi offrymmu fy mywyd i waith yr Arglwydd, gan ymddiried y gofala ef am danaf. Yr ydwyf yn bresennol yn *Glarc* i un o'r marsiandwyr mwyaf yn y dref hon, fy nghyflog yw 50 punt, a rhyfeddol o'r cyfeillion sydd gennyf yn y Byd newydd yma, llawer mwy nag oedd gennyf yn *Nghynmru*, nac yn *Lloegr* ; cynnygiodd fy meistr fy rhoddi mewn Masnach (*Bussiness*) fy hun, neu adael i mi yrru am eiddo i *Loegr*, a'u gwerthu yn ei *Siop* ef, os arhoswn yno ; ond yr ydwyf yn rhwym yn fy nghydwybod i gynnyg cael allan fy mrodyr, y *Cynmry*, yr wyf yn hynod o hoff o'r hen *Gynmraeg*, siarad *Cynmraeg* wrthyf fy hun, rhag im' ei gollwng yn anghof, a bob amser yn canu *Cynmraeg*. Dywed wrth fy nghâr, *Dafydd Thomas*, ddarfod im' ganu ei garol, ar *Ryw beth arall i'w wneuthur*, yma, ddydd Nadolig. Y mae chwech o *Gynmry* yn y dref hon, a llawer o feibion *Cynmry*, y rhai nid ydynt yn dyall yr iaith. Mi a gerddais dri chant o filldiroedd, i ymweled a'r Dr. *Samuel Jones*, *Cynmro*, ac un o aelodau y Senedd-dŷ yn *America* ; y mae ef yn cynnyg cael i mi ugain o wŷr âg arfau i fyned gydâ mi, i'm diogelu rhag yr *Indiaid*.—Dyma y wlad hyfrydaf a welais erioed ; y mae y bobl dlodion yn y wlad yma yn byw yn well na'r *Ffarmwyr* yn *Nghynmru*. Ti a ellit, pe bait yn gwerthu *Tai'r Ffynnon*, a dyfod yma, brynu tyddyn mwy na'r *Glyn-Llifon*, am yr arian. Nid wyf yn meddwl byth ddyfod i Loegr i ymsefydlu, ond e allai y deuaf i'ch ceisio chwi, ac i ganu ffarwel i wlad fy ngenedigaeth. Mi a fedraf ddyfod am ddim, am fod gennyf gydnabyddiaeth gyd a'r Marsiandwyr yn y dref yma. O y llawenydd a fydd yno! pan y cyfarfyddom a'n gilydd etto, wedi i'r Arglwydd fy ngwared o filoedd o gyfyngderau, cymmaint a fydd ein llawenydd a phan gyfarfu yr hen *Siacob* a'i fab *Sioseph*.

Y mae Mr. *John Williams*, mab *Meillionen*, yn meddwl dyfod ar fy ol ymhen blwyddyn. Yr ydwyf yn gobeithio y byddaf yn ngwlad y *Madawgwys* cyn hynny. Y mae myrdd o beryglon yn

aros am danaf, ti a elli feddwl, gan fod gen i fil a hanner o filldiroedd i'w teithio drwy wlad y dynion gwylltion.

O fy mrawd, a phawb sydd yn caru fy llwyddiant, gweddiwch droswyf, ar i Dduw'r nefoedd fy nwyn yn ddïogel i ben fy ymdaith, er gogoniant i'w enw.—Yr ydwyf yn eich cofleidio i gyd yn fy meddwl, gyd â dagrau, rhag mai dyma y tro diweddaf y clywch oddi wrth eich brawd: ond os cwympaf o flaen fy ngelynion, yn yr ymdrechiad; gwybyddwch fy mod wedi marw yn ddewr yn achos fy nghyd-wladwyr, fal y dylai *Brython*.

Na wylwch droswyf, am fod presennoldeb yr Hollalluog wedi bod gyd â mi yn neillduol, ynghanol coedwig y gorllewinol fyd hwn yn fynych, pan wrthyf fy hun, yr wy'n canu fal hyn:

Ar fôr o Wydr teithio'r wy'
Lle garw, enbyd, yw;
Lle soddodd myrdd, a llawer mwy
A mi trwy ras yn fyw, &c.

Wyf dy garedig Frawd,
Ieuan ab Ifan.

O.S. *Byddaf yn myned oddi yma i* Ffort Cumberland, *oddi yno i* Ffort Pitt, *oddi yno i lawr yr afon* Ohio *mewn cwch arfog*.

## III.

### *LETTER FROM DR. SAMUEL JONES.*

*Llythyr oddiwrth* Dr. Samuel Jones *at* T. E. *o'r* Waunfawr, *yn* Arfon.

Lower Dublin: Mai 'r 8fed, 1793.

Syr,—Eich brawd, fel yr wyf yn meddwl, a diriodd i Baltimore yr hydref diweddaf, oddiyno y daeth i Philadelphia, ac yna i'm tŷ inau, ddeuddeg milldir oddiyno. Wedi ychydig amser fe a ddychwelodd i Baltimore, lle treuliodd y gauaf mewn Cyfrif-dŷ, ac yna dychwelodd yn y gwanwyn. Dywedodd wrthyf fi, mai ei brif ddiben yn dyfod i America oedd amcanyd cael allan yr Indiaid Cymreig, Cychwynodd, o'm ty i, ddechreu mis Mawrth ar ei daith i'r gorllewin, i'r diben hyny. Anturiaeth glodfawr ond ei bod yn beryglus. Fel yr ydwyf fy hun yn wresog yn yr achos hwn, dymunaf iddo lwyddiant o'm calon, ond ni roddais iddo ddim annogaeth, ond yn hytrach mi ai cynghorais i'r gwrthwyneb, hyd

onis cawsai ragor o gyfeillion i uno âg ef yn y daith. Ond yr oedd wedi ragderfynu yn ei feddwl i fyned, ac felly efe a aeth. Erbyn hyn yr wyf yn disgwyl ei fod fil o filldiroedd yngwlad yr Indiaid. Pan gadawodd fy nhy i dymunodd arnaf anfon y llythyrau a allswn ei gael oddiwrtho, ac atteb y cyfryw a anfonyd iddo yma, am y byddai yn amhosibl eu hanfon ar ei ol ef.

Yr ydwyf wedi 'sgrifennu dau lythyr i Lundain yn barod mewn atteb i'w eiddo ef.

Ni ychwannegaf, ond bod gennym wlad hyfryd, lle yr ydym yn rhydd ac yn ddedwydd, a lle mae rhyw beth o rym duwioldeb, yn gystal a'i rith. O na b'ai miloedd yn dyfod drosodd, yma, o wlad fy ngenedigaeth, lle tynais yr anadliad gyntaf, ar lle sydd anwyl gennyf hyd y dydd hwn.

Ydwyf eich, &c.,

Samuel Jones.

## IV.

### Evans's Ascent of the Missouri, and Visit to the Mandans.

'*Hanes Taith John Evans yn yr America.*'

('Greal neu Eurgrawn,' 1800.)

'Ynghylch chwe' blynedd (neu ychwaneg), a aethant heibio, yr hyspyswyd yn gyhoeddus, fod llwyth o Indiaid Cymreig yn cyfaneddu ar lan afon Missouri; a bod dyn ieuangc o'r enw John Evans (yr hwn a anwyd yn y Bettws Garmon, gerllaw Caernarfon) wedi cymmeryd y gwaith yn llaw o gael gafael yn y cyfryw bobl.

'Ar ol gorchfygu amrywiol rwystrau, efe a gychwynnodd ei daith yn Awst 1795, o St. Lewis ynghwmp'ni Mr. James Mackay, goruchwiliwr y farsiandaeth ar yr afon Missouri; ac ynghylch diwedd y flwyddyn, efe a diriodd ymhlith llwyth o Indiaid a elwir Mahas, 900 o filldiroedd i fynu yr afon Missouri, ac yno y gauafodd efe. Yn Chwefror 1796, efe a ail gychwynnodd i'w daith tu a'r Gorllewin, ac a aeth yn ei flaen ynghylch 300 milldir; ond gorfu iddo droi yn ol i'w sefydle flaenorol, pan ganfu fod y Seaux mewn agwedd ryfelgar; ond yn y Maihafhîn canlynol, efe a gychwynnodd ar hyd yr un ffordd; ac yn Awst, efe a diriodd yn mysg y Mandan a'r cenhedloedd bobliog,[1] 900 milldir oddiwrth y Mahas.

[1] 'Pobliog' is here used apparently in the sense of the Spanish word *pueblo*, a town, to denote that the Mandans had fixed habitations, unlike the migratory Indians.

'Mae'r Missouri, medd efe, dros 780 o filldiroedd o St. Lewis, yn ymddolenu, ac yn ffurfio camrhedyneu ardderchog, ac yn rhedeg drwy ddolydd hyfryd mor wastad a bwrdd; ond ar ambell dro, y mae'r afon yn rhedeg ar bob ochr i'r bryniau; ond ei thyniad cyffredinol sydd tu a'r dehau i'r gwastadedd ynghylch 1200 o filldiroedd; y mae hi yn llawn o ynysoedd bychain, ac yn derbyn iddi amryw o ffrydiau mawrion o'r Mandas, a'r Puncas, yr hyn sydd agos i 600 milldir. Mae'r afon wedi ynnill ei ffordd, ac yn rhedeg yn orwyllt drwy fynyddoedd a bryniau yn llawn o fwngloddiau.

'Wedi golygu a chymmeryd darlun o'r afon Missouri am 1800 milldir, efe a ddychwelodd gyd â chefnffrwd yr afon mewn 68 o ddyddiau. Cyrhaeddodd i St. Lewis, yn y Gorphenhaf 1797, ar ol bod yn absenol agos i ddwy flynedd.

'Mewn perthynas i'r Indiaid Cymreig, y mae efe yn dywedyd, nad allai ef gyfarfod a'r fath bobl: ac y mae efe wedi sefydlu ei farn, yr hon a seiliodd ar gydnabyddiaeth gyd ag amryw lwythau, nad oes y fath bobl mewn bod.'

This document alone would suffice to negative the supposition of the Kymric origin of the Mandans, and of the existence of Welsh Indians on the Missouri. The editor of the 'Greal' suggested that Evans did not go far enough; but the researches of Catlin have shown that this was an error, and that the Blackfeet, Crows, and Knisteneux, who lay further west, were not 'Welsh' Indians.

V.

There are several pieces composed in reference to the supposed voyages of Madoc, which may be referred to here, if not reproduced. Of course, they cannot be accounted to be authorities. Dr. Williams's two essays have been frequently cited in the foregoing pages, as also the pamphlet of the Rev. G. Burder; but the most celebrated work of this kind is Southey's epic poem, which, being now well known, needs no further notice.

VI.

The 'Cylchgrawn,' already quoted, contains in No. 2, p. 103, a speech entitled 'Madawg ab Owain Gwynedd, yn ymadaw â Chymmru'; but, as it is not remarkable for imaginative power or literary ability, I will simply indicate its existence.

## VII.

### The latest Reference to the Madogwys.

### *LETTER OF MR. J. T. ROBERTS.*

### 'Yr Indiaid Cymreig.'

Sacramento City, California: Tach. 17, 1857.

Anwyl Frawd Everett,—Yr wyf yn ysgrifenu attoch eto ychydig linellau ar yr hen bwnc, sef yr Indiaid Cymreig neu Wynion. Ychydig ddyddiau yn ol darfu i ddyn o'r enw Gilman aros yn fy nhy (yn y mwngloddiau) am rai dyddiau, yr hwn a dreuliasai auaf 1852-3 yn Great Salt Lake City. Yr oedd yn byw y pryd hyny tua 40 milldir o'r ddinas hen wreigan a'i merch. Tra bu fy hysbysydd yno, gwelodd dri o Indiaid Gwynion yn galw yn y ty, un ddynes a dau hogyn mawr, sef dau frawd a chwaer. Gwynion oedd y tri, a'r hogiau yn bengoch. Yr oedd y ddynes yn brydweddol ac yn lled ffyrf a thra llydan ei hysgwyddau, a gwallt du. Yr oedd ganddi fab yn bengoch. Dywedai yr hen wreigan fod gan ei gwr wallt coch. Dywedai yr hen wraig y gallai hi ddeall yn mron y cwbl a ddywedai mai Cymraeg oedd. Dywedai yr Indies i'w phobl hi ddyfod dros y Dwfr Mawr, mewn tair llong, ac na ddychwelsant fyth. Dywedai eu bod wedi eu hamddiffyn yn gadarn, lle y preswyliant yn awr, a bod ganddynt lawer o ddefaid, a'u bod yn gweithio y gwlan i wneyd dillad. Dillad gwlan oedd ganddi hi y pryd hyny. Maent yn cael llawer o helbul oddiwrth Indiaid eraill. Y bechgyn a ddywedent iddynt gael eu lladratta gan Indiaid a'u gwerthu i bobl wynion yn California-Isaf neu Mexico Newydd. Yr oeddynt wedi bod yn ymweled a'u pobl; ac yr oeddynt yn awr ar eu ffordd yn dychwelyd at y bobl wynion yn ol eu haddewid, a mynai y chwaer ganlyn y brodyr. Gwelodd Mr. Gilman dri o Indiaid Gwynion eraill a gwallt coch yn yr un gymydogaeth, dau ddyn ac un bachgen; a barna oddiwrth yr hysbysrwydd a gafodd trwy yr hen wraig hono, a rhai o'r Mormoniaid a fuasent yn eu gwlad, eu bod yn byw i'r de oddiwrth y Llyn Halen Fawr, yn agos i'r llinell derfyn rhwng Utah a Mexico Newydd.

Daeth teulu yma yn ddiweddar y rhai a welsant yn mysg yr Indiaid hyny lawer o rai gwynion a gwallt coch. Dywedir fod rhai o'r Mormoniaid wedi bod yn eu mysg, yn ceisio eu proselytio

i'w ffydd hwy, a'u bod wedi methu. Maent yn grefyddol a chanddynt dy cwrdd mawr. Nid oedd Mr. Gilman wedi clywed son am Madog ab Owen Gwynedd erioed. Fy meddwl i yw, fod hyn yn brawf o fodoliaeth yr Indiaid Cymreig cryfach na dim a welais eto ; a barnaf nad oes llawer o amheuaeth nad ellid cael hyd iddynt. Yr wyf yn meddwl pe buasai genyf y fath hysbysrwydd a hyn pan yr oeddwn yn St. Louis yn ymchwilio am danynt yn 1819, y buaswn yn gwneyd fy ffordd atynt. Nid oedd y pryd hyny ond ychydig o Gymry yn America mewn cydmariaeth i'r hyn sydd yn awr, a'r casgliad a wnaed y pryd hyny nid oedd ddim mwy na digon i dalu traul dau ddyn i St. Louis ac yn ol. Nis gallwyd cael dim hanes am eu bodoliaeth yno, ac ni awd dim yn mhellach. Meddyliwyf y gellid cael hyd iddynt yn awr heb lawer o drafferth.

JOHN T. ROBERTS.

(Extracted from the 'Cenhadwr,' an American publication, into the 'Amserau,' published at Liverpool, March 31, 1858.)

Mr. Roberts here shows a livelier faith in the existence of the Welsh Indians than he showed in 1819; and it is not improbable that his hint respecting a subscription may lead to another search. But, in order to prepare Kymric minds for the disappointment that must result, it may be well to remark that the Indians here spoken of, who wore and wove woollen garments, had a large meeting-house among them, had white skins and red hair, and lived to the south of the Great Salt Lake, could be no other than the Moquis or Navajoes, of whom we have already written at length. We know from Ruxton and others that they have albinoes among them, that they are light-coloured as compared with other Indians, that they have a *casa grande* or great temple, and that they make blankets; but all that does not show them to be Welsh, and we cannot trust the statement of an old woman, who possibly did not know Welsh herself, or, perhaps, like Barney Ward's friend, knew 'only a few words.' The Moquis, as we have already said on the authority of Ruxton, spoke the Aztec or Mexican language, which has no resemblance to Kymraeg.

### The Llangollen Adjudication on the Madoc Essays.

The adjudication of the Rev. D. S. Evans, formerly professor of the Welsh language at Lampeter College, and author of an excellent English-Welsh dictionary in two vols., recently published, is as follows :

*To the Secretaries of the Llangollen Eisteddfod.*

Gentlemen,—Inasmuch as a controversy has arisen respecting the adjudication on the Madoc Essays, and as one of the reasons alleged by the Llangollen committee for withholding the prize from the author of the best essay is an imputed informality in my award, I, as one of the appointed judges, consider it to be my duty to the competitors and to myself again to lay before the committee a formal statement of my views.

The subject was announced in these terms : 'For the best essay on the discovery of America in the 12th century, by Prince Madoc ap Owen Gwynedd, 20*l.* and a silver star.'

Six essays were forwarded to me. Five of the writers took the affirmative side, and laboured with more or less ability to show that Madoc ap Owen had discovered America ; but one of them, under the signature of Gwrnerth Ergydlym, by far the ablest writer, took the opposite side ; examined the subject fully and candidly ; displayed throughout a deep acquaintance with all the evidences bearing upon the question ; and manifested no small amount of critical sagacity.

While the essays were under consideration, I received a note from one of the secretaries, stating that both he and his colleague were of opinion that a treatise 'sent in on the non-discovery of America ought not to be received, there being no such subject in the programme.' This interference with the functions of the judges appears to me to have been irregular and improper, and implied that those to whom the adjudication of these essays had been entrusted were not capable of deciding whether they were on the proposed subject or not. I therefore claim for myself, and for those who acted with me, the right to interpret the terms of the announcement in accordance with their obvious meaning, and the spirit of the age in which we live. I am decidedly of opinion that the negative essayist ought to participate in the competition; and I emphatically deny that the competitors were bound to

commit the immorality of adopting any conclusion that seemed to them not warranted by the premises.

I do not think it necessary to enter into the comparative merits of the affirmative essays. All of them, whether we take them singly or collectively, appear to me to fall far short of establishing the points which their respective writers have undertaken to prove ; and as literary compositions, none of them will bear comparison with the masterly essay of Gwrnerth Ergydlym.

Having read the whole of the essays with as much care as the circumstances permitted, the impressions produced on my mind are these :

1. That the existence of the so-called Welsh Indians has not yet been established.

2. That Madoc's alleged discovery of the American continent rests upon bare conjecture.

3. And that it is still an open question whether he ever left his own country.

If these essays exhaust the subject to which they refer, I can draw no other inference from their contents than that these points cannot, with our present stock of knowledge, be proved to the satisfaction of unbiassed minds. I am, therefore, of opinion that one judgment alone is possible ; and that the prize ought to be awarded to Gwrnerth Ergydlym.

In this sense, but less fully, I had expressed myself to you in the communication which I addressed to you in the earlier part of the Eisteddfod week; and I must be permitted to observe that my decision in this case was as formal as in the case of 'Barddas' and the 'Diarebion Cymreig,' of which I acted as one of the judges, and no complaint was made that my verdict, in reference to those subjects, was deficient in point of formality.

I now confirm my former judgment, and must be understood to affirm emphatically,—

1. That the essay of Gwrnerth Ergydlym is strictly upon the subject, and entitled to compete.

2. That it is by far the best essay sent to me.

3. And that the author is fully entitled to the prize of 20*l.* and the silver star.

I remain, Gentlemen,

Your faithful servant,

Llangian: December 8, 1858. D. Silvan Evans.

'I hereby certify that the above is a true copy of the adjudication sent this day to the honorary secretaries of the Llangollen Eisteddfod. Witness my hand this eighth day of December, 1858.

'D. Silvan Evans.'

(The prize for 'Barddas' was awarded to one of the Hon. Secs., the Rev. John Williams ('Ab Ithel'), who is also a competitor for the Madoc prize.)

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